

*The Lairds  
of Glenlyon*

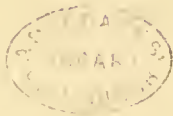
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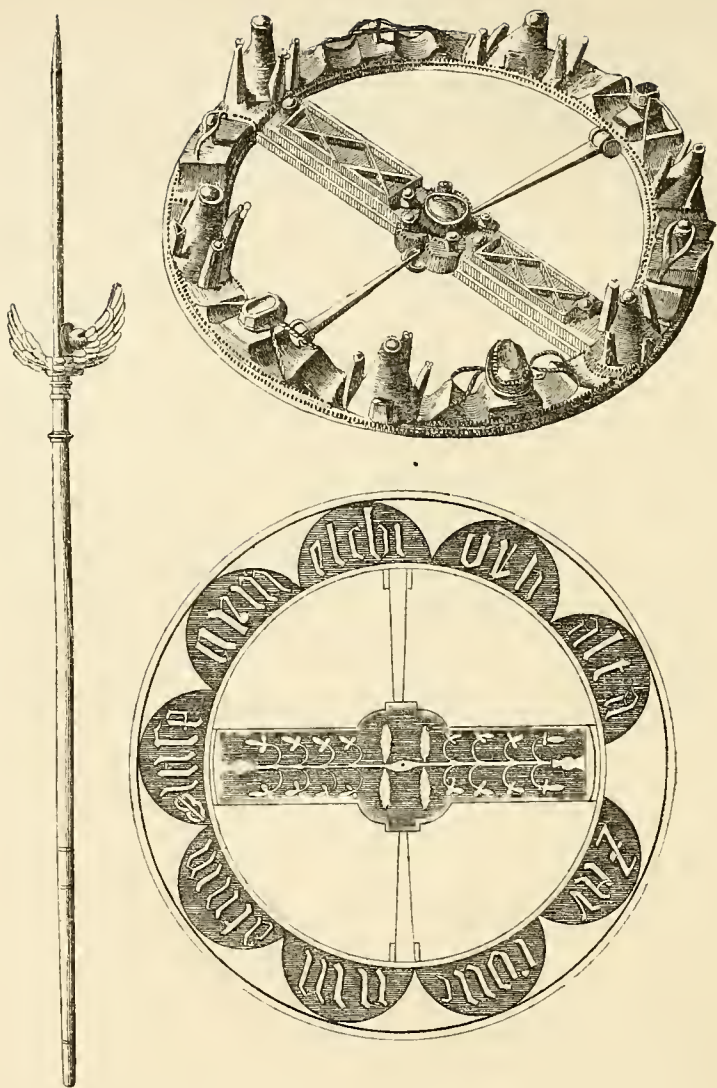
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GLENLYON BROOCH AND WALKING-STAFF.

(See Page 289 and Appendix.)

THE  
**B**airds of **G**lenlyon:

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

RELATING TO THE DISTRICTS OF

APPIN, GLENLYON, AND  
BREADALBANE.

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## PREFACE.

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THE following Historical Sketches were first published in the form of articles contributed to the "Perthshire Advertiser" at various dates between August, 1855, and June, 1858. Their Author, Mr. Duncan Campbell, now of Inverness, was at that time Parish Schoolmaster of Fortingall, Glenlyon; he was thoroughly conversant with the topography, antiquities, and legends of the districts of Appin, Glenlyon, and Breadalbane, and had access to the family records preserved in Glenlyon House. The Sketches have been collected by Sir Donald Currie of Garth and Glenlyon, and carefully revised for him by the Author, with a view to their reproduction in the present volume.

*May, 1886.*



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INVERNESS, *July 4th*, 1885.

DEAR SIR DONALD CURRIE,—“The Lairds of Glenlyon” which you are republishing for private circulation from the old files of the *Perthshire Advertiser*, were written by me in weekly or fortnightly instalments, long, long ago, when I was schoolmaster of Fortingall, and as yet quite a young man. I was full of traditional stories I had heard in my boyhood from my grandmother, from Archibald M'Arthur, miller of St. Eonan's Mill, and many other aged persons. I possessed papers left by my grandfather, and had access to papers then at Glenlyon House, which, at a time when repairs were going on, I had the good fortune to save from being burned. Very few of the papers went further back than 1670, and the few that dated from 1620 did not tell much about Glenlyon. I had therefore at first to rely upon tradition alone in respect to the earlier history, and I found that while agreeing in the main my chief informants, who were John M'Arthur *alias* “Iain Mor Mac Rob,” my grand-uncle, Donald M'Naughton *alias* “Domhnall Ciotach,” Archibald M'Diarmid *alias* “Gilleasbuig Mor Scoileir,” and the Kirkton of Fortingall veteran soldier, John Campbell *alias* “Iain Caimbeul a Chlaoidh,” differed in details and modes of telling their stories. Before the series of papers was concluded, *The Black Book of Taymouth* came out; and that gave me an opportunity of supplementing and correcting traditions.

The reprint will therefore contain within itself recorded history, along with traditions. The proofs of this reprint now before me contain all the purely traditional part, and what strikes me most is its general faithfulness to recorded history, and the elucidatory light it throws thereon. But on the other hand traditions always confuse chronology and obliterate or expand periods of time without remorse. I have much pleasure in sending you for an appendix to the reprint a few *notes* which will, I hope, help to give the book a decent historical backbone, and to atone for the defects of tradition.

I remain,

Yours truly,

DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

SIR DONALD CURRIE, K.C.M.G., M.P.

*of Garth and Glenlyon,  
Fortingall, Perthshire.*





## THE LAIRDS OF GLENLYON.

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### I.

GLENLYON stretches in a westerly direction between Appin of Dull and Tyndrum. It lies wholly in Perthshire, having Rannoch running parallel on the north and Breadalbane on the south. The road to Tyndrum not being open, as well as other reasons, have hitherto caused this glen to be a little world by itself. The scenery is unique, and beautiful throughout. The circular dale of Fortingall, abounding in Druidic and Roman remains, forms the vestibule. The traveller then enters the Pass of Chesthill, and for three miles walks along the course of the Lyon, which, hoarse-murmuring over its bed of honey-combed rocks, and now and then hampered by cliffs jutting from either side, gives one, by its twisting stream, crested with milky foam, the idea of a half-strangled serpent wriggling along, wounded but menacing. Lofty abrupt rocks, cloud-capped above, and covered with woods at their base, adorn and complete the scene. Emerging from the Pass, our traveller now reaches the inhabited places, the beginning of the real glen. Its conformation may be generally described as a succession of long "bends," the angles of which consist

of mountain spurs, that so closely approximate at certain points as to make the beholder think he has attained his goal, and that the little opening before him has no ulterior, beyond, at best, a small mountain corrie. His astonishment increases as he enters another and still another "bend," in generals so like, but in particulars so dissimilar from, the preceding ones. Thus the scene shifts from beginning to end, a distance in all of thirty miles, while the average breadth is not much above two. The hills, rising nearly perpendicular from the bed of the river, give the whole glen its individuality of character; but the surface changes continually from bare rocks to verdant green—from woods and purple heath to the rich pasture of the braes, in summer almost white, from the large intermixture of white bed-straw (*Galium saxatile*) and eye-bright. The patches of arable ground, formed upon the *debris* washed down by mountain streams, are very fertile, but slow in ripening, as in most places the mountain tops intercept the kindly sunbeams. In some places, indeed, the sun is not seen for upwards of two months.

The present population does not exceed 600. Within the memory of persons living, it was fully double this. The population consists of large sheep-farmers, a few cottars and tradesmen, with a very slight sprinkling of crofters or small holders. There are an Established and a Free Church and their respective schools, and also a Baptist meeting-place. Three proprietors share among them the whole glen—R. S. Menzies, Esq. of Culdares; J. S. Menzies, Esq. of Chesthill; and the Marquis of Breadalbane. The last possesses the lands once held by the M'Gregors of Roro, and in the braes which formerly made part of the

royal forest of Bendaskerly, of which an ancestor of that noble family, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, was appointed hereditary forester by James VI.

The glen abounds in traditions and remains of the Fingalians. A chain of round towers stretches through its whole length, which the people still call "Caistealan nam Fiann," castles of the Fingalians. There is an old saying, "Bha da chaisteal dheug aig Fionn an crom ghlean nan garbh chlach"—"Fingal had twelve castles in the crooked glen of large stones." Most of these ruins are to this day pointed out. There are five of them at the place called Cashlie (castles), each bearing the name of a known Fingalian chief. There can be little doubt these towers were used both for protection and watch-towers, from which the approach of danger was telegraphed far and near. It is no argument against the latter view, that some of the towers were not within sight of others; the conformation of the country rendered it impossible, granting that each dale and valley was held by its own tribe of inhabitants, squatting round their tower. It was in general only requisite that, when the messenger of war arrived, the chief, by displaying the beacon light from the top of the tower, could gather his own followers without loss of time. In confirmation of this view, we find that a tower, which is in sight of no other one, still commands the whole glen or section of a glen in which it is placed.

The chain of towers between Dunkeld and the borders of Argyleshire must have been of much consequence, indeed, in the pre-historic annals of Scotland. There seems little doubt this was the Drumalban of later historians. A passage in a poem by the bard Douthal, on Mordubh, king

of the Caledonians, still extant, speaks of Drumalban and the beacon light as follows :—

“ Tionailbh mo shuin o’n t’-seilg,”  
 Thubhairt Ceann-feadhna na’ h-Alba.  
 “ Soillsichibh sràd air Druim-Feinne,  
 Is thig mo laoich o ghruaidh gach beinne.”  
 Labhair Mordubh rìgh nan strath,  
 ‘S lionair crag tha ‘g-innseadh an sgeul.

“ Cal my heroes from the chase,” said the Captain of Scotland. “ Light a spark on Druim-Feinne (the high top of the Fingalians—viz., Drumalban), and my warriors shall come from the side of each hill. Mordubh, King of Straths, thus spoke, and many a crag tells the tale.” Captain of Scotland—such is the title given to Mordubh as generalissimo in the war, while his personal and ordinary rank was King of Straths. King, in those days, was a name assumed by any chief that had a decent following. The long bead-roll of Caledonian kings anterior to Kenneth, was likely, to a considerable extent, made up of the names of so many independent chiefs, who, one way or another, made themselves remarkable in their day, and many of whom must have lived contemporaneously, and of whom few, perhaps, merited the title of king, in the sense in which the annalists, misled by the unity of their own times, so liberally bestowed it, so as, indeed, to destroy the authority of their story.

Glenlyon is a mine of legends, or was so a few years before it was “swept.” We may give a few in passing; but our principal object is to gather in one record the chief events in the traditional history of a family that one unfortunate circumstance made too notorious in the history of Scotland—the Campbells of Glenlyon. Before coming to the Lairds,

however, it is necessary to pay homage to Holy Mother Kirk, and relate the

#### LEGEND OF ST. EONAN.

St. Eonan (as tradition says) was the disciple of St. Columba, but more correctly an alumnus of the Monastery of Iona, founded by St. Columba about 565. St. Eonan set out in company with St. Fillan to instruct the rude inhabitants of the Grampians in the doctrines of Christianity. The whole land lay before them, and—like the patriarchs of old, casting lots—Strathfillan, Balquhidder, &c., fell to St. Fillan; Glenlyon and its neighbourhood to Eonan. Civilization, of yore as now, followed in the wake of the religion of the cross. Both saints, in their different abodes, recommended their spiritual doctrines to the people, by showing they could better their temporal state. Fillan erected the mill at Killin; Eonan that of Milton Eonan in Glenlyon. During Eonan's sojourn in the place of his pilgrimage, one of the dreadful plagues that then so often depopulated Europe, broke out over Scotland. At Fortingall it made such ravage that only one survived—"an Ossian after the Fenians." This was an old woman, who performed the duties of sexton, conveying the dead, by her grey horse and sledge, into one hollow over which a heap of stones was afterwards raised, still to be seen in the Haugh of Fortingall, and called the "Cairn of the Dead." What became of the heroine of the grey horse, our Sennachies forget to tell; but they say the desert dale of Fortingall was subsequently repeopled by a colony of the M'Dougals of Lorn, many of whose descendants are still found there. As the plague extended up the glen, St. Eonan's people, despairing of all human rescue, bethought

themselves of the spiritual aid of their pastor, whose good help they importuned in the following lines :—

Eonan nan gruaidhean dearg  
Eirich, is caisg plaigh do shluaigh ;  
Saor sinne bho'n Bhas  
Is na leig oirnn e nios no 'n nuas.

“ Eonan of the ruddy cheeks, rise and check the plague of thy people. Save us from the death, and let it not come upon us east or west.” However unreasonable the request, the prudent missionary found it expedient to temporise. He assembled the people. The meeting was held in the open air, within forty yards of a house in which a young child was dying of the plague. He preached with success the gospel of peace to the excited and horrified multitude. He took, at the same time, all precautions within his reach, separating the sound from the unsound, and did not hesitate himself to discharge the duties of attendance on the dying, while he sent their relations away to the mountain sheilings. The plague soon stopped, and the people, of course, ascribed their safety to the miraculous power of the saint. The rock on which he prayed and preached in that dreadful crisis is called *Craig-dianaidh*—*i.e.*, “ rock of safety.” A rude cross, set up by the wayside, was probably erected at a later period, to excite the devotions of the faithful. The rock was henceforward the place where neighbouring chiefs could most safely meet in solemn conclave, both for judicial and other purposes. Here was held the meeting, in which the chief of the M'Ivors, having refused to do justice to the foster-brother of Stewart of Garth, brought upon himself the fate related at length by General Stewart in his *Sketches of the Highlanders*. Near the rock is *Bodach Chraig-dianaidh*, a



large round stone, which is to be placed on another flat one some feet high. While the seniors were in council grave, the young men, it is probable, were putting their strength to the test in lifting the Bodach. There are at least two other similar stones in the glen—one at Cashlie, eight miles farther up; and one at Lochs. Fingal, the grey-haired King of Morven, would, it is said, allow no youth to bear the warlike spear, or join the ranks of war until he lifted one of the Bodachs.

When Eonan was dying, his people assembled to receive his blessing, and asked where he wished to be buried. He made the singular request that they should carry his corpse down the water until the withs that attached the handspikes to the bier broke, and there bury him. Faithful to their trust, they proceeded downwards and downwards with the remains of the saint, till the “dul” or withs broke at Dull, where St. Eonan was buried, and to which he bequeathed a name, and the potent magic of his sanctity. We find, at the end of the tenth century, the Abthania of Dull—a singular word, that puzzled eminent antiquaries—possessed by Crynyn, “Abthane of Dull, and Seneschal of the Isles,” who, as the father of Duncan (slain by Macbeth), and husband of Beatrix, daughter of King Malcolm, was the progenitor of a long line of princes. Doubtful tradition says that Dull was the first seminary of education on the mainland, and that, long before Kilreymouth or St. Andrews merged into light, the Caledonian youths there imbibed the learning of ancient Rome, and the comparatively pure doctrines of the monks of Iona.

The saint's day was commemorated till of late by St. Eonan's Fair at Dull. Strange that religion should, in

every case, be so ready to slide into worldly business and pleasure ! The traffickers in the temple, and the caravans of Mecca, are familiar examples ; and it would be instructive to inquire how many of the shrines of Catholic saints have conferred benefits on the world by becoming the centres of profane markets.

The little chapel built by St. Eonan, near the Bridge of Balgie, was pulled down in the fourteenth century, and a new one erected at a few hundred yards' distance, in the burial-place of Brennudh. The old pyramidal hand-bell, used at the religious ceremonies, is still preserved in the burial-ground. Within forty years ago, the miller at Milton Eonan would not grind on the saint's day, and a similar rest was, till of late, observed at Killin on the day of St. Fillan.







## II.

WE leap over several centuries. In the early times, land was not of so much consequence in the eyes of a chief as men. The “following” was his hereditary property ; the land the prize of his sword. The strong clan dispossessed the weak, and it again one weaker than itself. The boast of physical superiority on the part of the conquerors, as well as the wresting from the conquered of the lands of their habitation, and their means of existence, embittered and prolonged the feuds of the Highlands. We are often perplexed by sudden and unexplained changes of inhabitants, and the introduction of new names, in the early annals of Scotland, which, no doubt, were mostly owing to the practical application of *Coir a Chlaidheamh*—*i.e.*, right of the sword.

Glenlyon passed through many hands. According to popular belief, the successive dynasties of lairds were divided into sevens—thus, seven M’Gregors, seven Campbells, and so to continue to the end of time. Towards the end of the reign of David Bruce, a great chief, named *Iain Dubh nan lann*—black John of the spears—was laird. At this time, from some domestic feud in the family of the Knight of Lochawe, his widowed daughter-in-law, the wife of his eldest son—so tradition says—and her infant son, were forced to abandon their native halls, and flee for refuge to Glenlyon. Black John married the widow, and had by her a family of

seven sons. The young Campbell, his dalta, or step-son, was carefully nurtured. A neighbouring priest, probably the prior of Sibilla's Island, in Lochtay, instructed him in the knowledge of the times. Though deprived of his inheritance, the adage that "knowledge is power," being never more true than in a barbarous age, he found himself superior to most of the rude chiefs, and was looked upon by them as an oracle—advantages which, by-and-bye, he turned to account.

Probably before the time that Donald of the Isles raised such commotions in the north—certainly during the regency of Albany—the Chisholm, chief of that period, made a foray to Glenlyon. The fiery cross was sent round the glen. All able to carry arms met at Tom-na-cuartaig, *the hillock of the circle*, near the chieftain's abode. The place is yet seen on the hill of Kerrumore, near the bridge of Balgie. It is an artificial mound of no great compass, circular, and level at top, save where a broad belt stretches round the edge, like a walk round a flower-plot. It seems to have been the general muster-place, probably, too—the *folkmote* or place of meeting for settling any dispute that might arise among the people. Near it are some ruins called *Tigh Iain Duibh nan lann*—"Black John of the Spear's house." It may be, a little excavation here would tell tales of other days. On the muster-ground, John and his men resolved to meet the foe. Chisholm and his *cearnaich* crossed the river, and were marching up the ascent. Black John prepared for immediate battle. For his Leichteach or body-guard he had his seven sons—four on the right, and three on the left; and, to make up the odd number, and equalise both sides, a very manly fellow, a cobbler, who was, when summoned,

busied in cutting buskins from the skins of slaughtered deer for the men of war—M'Callum by name—was called out, and stationed with the three on the left. The day was sultry. Chisholm was oppressed by the weight of mailed armour with which, as chief, he had invested himself. He raised his visor, and put up his hand to wipe the blinding sweat from his forehead. M'Callum—or, as he is better known, the *Greusaiche Riabhach*—observed the movement. He raised his bow; the string twanged; the Chisholm fell from his horse, his right hand clinched to his bleeding forehead by the fatal arrow. Black John's men, with a wild *iolach*, dashed upon the amazed foe, fiercely attacked them by the claymore, and left few or none to bring to the north country the mournful tidings of their chieftain's fate.

Bruce, by endeavouring—though unsuccessfully—to institute a *quo warranto* inquiry, alarmed while he irritated the spirit of the chiefs and nobles. Henceforward they prized more than formerly title-deeds and written documents. Campbell, the *dalta* of *Iain Dubh*, one day asked the latter by what right he held his lands. The aged chief pointed to his sword and armour. "Oh," says he, "but there are surer safeguards than that. Age may tame the warrior's strength; misfortune may snap his bow; the foe-man's sword may deprive his people of their trust: then the right goes as it came. But take my advice, and apply to the king for a charter, which will not be refused, and the royal sword and Scotland's laws become the pledge of your security. More, you can rule your people and their possessions from the grave; for, according to your will shall your descendants succeed for ever." "My *dalta*," replied John,

“you speak the words of wisdom. See and obtain the parchment ; though, after all, I do not understand why the sword is not a better guard than the sheep’s skin.” It was obtained accordingly ; and, after his own seven sons and their issue, Campbell’s name was inserted as next in succession. During the troubled regency of Albany, all Iain Dubh’s sons but one perished by the sword. He succeeded his father, but soon after died by an accident when hunting, and left the property to the Campbells, in terms of the charter.

The name of the first laird of the family of Campbell was Archibald. We have reason to believe he was not John Dubh’s dalta, but the dalta’s heir. He lived during the first part of the sixteenth century. He was a wise man, and fully conciliated the people to whose rule he had succeeded. The M’Gregors of Roro, who appear to have been in some way closely connected with the family of Iain Dubh, did not dispute his rights ; they received him as the heir of the chieftain—a kindness afterwards well repaid by the Campbells of Glenlyon.

The second laird of the Campbell family was “Donnachadh Ruadh na Feileachd”—Red Duncan of the hospitality. He died in the year 1580. His profuse hospitality gained for him a name not yet forgotten. Bands of Irish harpers came to Scotland in his days. As the dispensers of fame, they exacted good treatment and attendance to such a degree, that any great bore is still called *Cleadh-sheanchain*, which was the name given to these musical bands. The band was composed of a doctor of song and twelve scholars. In the earliest times, the bards, as a subordinate class in the order of Druids, were upheld by the resources of their more

mighty sacerdotal brethren. Druidism fell ; but how could heroes live without their fame ? The clans maintained bards at their own expense ; and the chiefs, as representatives of the clans, kept open hall for each strolling chief bard and his band a twelvemonth and a day, should it not happen that one of the chief's retainers could excel the band in song, for in that case the hospitality was at an end. This, as the first example of *Cain*, or tax, was named the ancient kain ; and the bards, as instructors of the age, *cleire*, or clergy. When, in course of time, cowed monks and priests assumed the mantle of instruction, and, under higher authority, exacted heavier dues, the old musical teachers were denominated *Cleire-sheanchain*, or, corrupted, *cleadh-sheanchain*—that is, “clergy of the ancient tax.”

The bard of Gorrie, an Irish chief, made his way to Glenlyon. Red Duncan's hospitality was already celebrated, and his reception of the bard and his band did not put his well-earned fame to shame. A fat bullock, and six wethers, with red deer and other game, were daily provided for his hall. The bard, highly pleased, took his farewell at last. The chief accompanied him part of the way. The bard all at once complained that his linen was completely worn, and unfit to be seen ; Duncan stripped, and unhesitatingly accommodated him with his own underclothing. When in this nude state, his lady happening to look forth from the loop-holes of Carnban Castle—Red Duncan's home—and seeing a white figure in the distance, which she took for one of the winged creation, she exclaimed : “Oh, such a large white goose !” From that the place received a name.

After a friendly convoy, Duncan returned, and ordered his gillies to double everything for to-morrow's entertainment ; " for," says he, " the bard suspects I have furnished my board only for his sake ; his departure is a sham ; he will return to-morrow." It happened as anticipated. To his astonishment, the bard found the hospitable board better replenished than ever. Some time after, he took his departure in real earnest, and when his own employer, Gorrie, inquired about Red Duncan, and put it to him if strangers fared not better with himself, the bard promptly replied :

" Molar Gorrie thar a mhuir  
Is gach duine na thir fein ;  
Ach na coimisear duine do t-sluagh  
Ri Donnachadh Ruadh ach e fein."

" Let Gorrie be praised over the sea, and each man in his own country ; but let none of the race of men be compared to Red Duncan but himself." Gorrie, indignant at this extremely plain reply, dismissed the bard, who, wending his way back to Scotland, received from Red Duncan a piece of land still called *Croit a Bhaird*—the bard's croft.

Carnban Castle, where Duncan resided, is built on a steep conical hillock, about three miles beyond the entrance of the glen. It was defended by a ditch and drawbridge. The ruins are in good condition. It was a square, or rather oblong, tower, vaulted and loopoled, with a wide hospitable-looking chimney in the west gable, and a round tower with a cork-screw stair butting out from the adjacent side. It commands a noble view of the bend of the glen between



Innervar on the west, and the pass of Chesthill on the east. It was towards the latter end of autumn I was last there. The wind was souging down the leaves in the surrounding woods ; the hill sides had put on their russet garb ; and the sun, peeping through a chink of the opposite mountain top, made the black slimy rocks of Dericambus glitter like glass. The ruins were profusely covered with the pretty wall-fern, and a young squirrel gambolled in a plantain tree that had stuck its roots in the floor of the once hospitable hall. The hold was ruined soon after Red Duncan's death by a party of Lochaber men, who forayed the glen, and, in passing, shot from the opposite side of the river an arrow, to which a piece of burning lint was attached ; the dry heath thatching caught the flame, and so Red Duncan's tower shared the fate of Troy.

The gratitude of the tuneful confraternity was not bought in vain. " He is as hospitable as Donnachadh Ruadh na feileachd " is yet a byword ; his laudations survive in the poetry both of Ireland and Scotland.

Duncan was succeeded by his son Colin. He married a sister of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, the true founder of the Breadalbane family. In his latter days, when far from old, he lost his reason, and this gained him the epithet of "gorach," or mad. But there was method in his madness. A party of Lochaber men (by-the-bye, they called all beyond the Moss of Rannoch and the Blackmount Lochaber men in those days), headed by Dougal, the second son of the chief of Muidart, forayed a part of the estate of Glenlyon, when on their way with, I believe, stolen cattle to one of the southern trysts. Two of Colin's tenants, making oppo-

sition to the spoilers, were slain. Before the Glenlyon men could muster, they had escaped with their prey. An ambuscade was laid against their return. Colin's eldest son, Duncan, and a strong party, encountered Dougal and his men at the head of Glendochart, and made them prisoners. They were brought to Meggernie Castle, and put in durance vile. Duncan went immediately to Edinburgh to give them up to Government. He sent a message to his father, telling him there was every prospect of the prisoners getting off free, through court interest. Mad Colin became ten times more mad than before. "Pardon!" says he; "pardon men taken red-handed in the act of murdering my tenants! By the might of Mary! it shall not be so." The captives, said to be thirty-six in number, were taken out and strung up to so many trees, about a mile to the east of Meggernie Castle, on the brae side, called *Leachd nan Abrach*—Lochabermen's brae. Dougal, the leader, is said to have been shot by Colin himself. His body subsequently received the rites of burial at the hands of a follower more humane than his master. *Carn Dughail*—*i.e.*, Dougal's cairn, is a stonecast above the bridge of Balgie.

Duncan was horrified on his return to hear of the summary proceedings of his father. The Muidart family represented the matter at Edinburgh in a very strong light. Colin and his son were both outlawed. That was all. Strong in the fidelity of his followers, and the friendship of neighbouring chiefs, who were mostly hostile to the government, the mad laird of Glenlyon put king and council to defiance.

When his vagaries became extravagant, his son, on the



plea of his father's madness, made peace with the government, and was himself appointed administrator of the estate. Yet the mad laird was left at large, and, with Finlay, his attendant, wandered as far and widely among the hills, in pursuit of game, as his heart could desire. Many stories are told of their wanderings and doings. I may give one. They were after the deer, the chase was unsuccessful, and Colin's mood was chafed. On the brow of *Stuic-an-lochain*—a huge rock beetling over a deep circular mountain tarn—they encountered a flock of goats. Mad Colin and his man forced them over the precipice. When surveying their work from the top of the cliff, Colin unexpectedly came behind Finlay, and ordered him, in a threatening voice, to jump over. He knew it was useless to resist. He said quietly, and as a matter of course: "I will, Glenlyon; but," looking at a grey stone behind them, "I would just like to say my prayers at yon stone first; it is so like an altar." Colin mused, looked at the stone, and, letting go his hold, bade him go, and be back immediately. Finlay reached the stone, knelt down, muttered whatever came uppermost, and every now and then took a sly look at his master. Colin stood yet on the edge of the cliff, and kept looking on the mangled bodies of the goats. He seemed to become horrified at his own mad work. Finlay lost not his opportunity. He stealthily crept behind his master, grasped him by the shoulders, and shouted, in a thundering voice: "Leap after the goats." The unhappy lunatic supplicated for mercy, in vain. Finlay's grasp was like a vice; and he so held him over the precipice, that if let go he could not recover himself, but inevitably fall over. "Let me go this once," supplicated Colin. "Swear, first, you shall not cir-

cumvent me again." "By Mary?" "Nay, by your father's sword." "By my father's sword, I swear." "That will do; now we go home."

Mad Colin built the Castle of Meggernie, probably about 1582. It was enlarged and altered by his great-grandson, of unhappy memory, the Commander at Glencoe.





### III.

IN 1590, a commission was granted to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, empowering him to pursue the clan Gregor with fire and sword, and forbidding any of the lieges to reset them. Mad Colin was first married to Sir Duncan's sister, on whose death he married a sister of the Laird of Lawers, who was Glenorchy's right-hand man in the persecution of the clan Gregor. Colin, as a clansman and near relative, was solicited to join them by the Knight and Lawers. Remembering *Iain dubh nan lann's* gift to his forefathers, he viewed the project with abhorrence, laid a curse on those who proposed it, and threatened death to any who injured a M'Gregor within his bounds. To mark his contempt, he invited all the M'Gregors in his neighbourhood to a great feast that he prepared for them. But there was a traitor in the camp: his wife had sent secret information to her brother Lawers, and pointed out how, at one fell swoop, he could destroy so many enemies. As dinner was not served up as soon as Colin wished it, he sent his henchman to ask the cause of the delay. The lady, forgetting herself, replied quickly: "I expect my brother." The reply was announced in the hall; and the M'Gregors, thinking they had been entrapped, rushed out, deaf to all Colin could say. It was time: Lawers was crossing the ford below the castle, before they gained the hill-side. Colin was disgraced on his own hearth by his nearest friends. He had his revenge; for,

that night, his wife and son, by the second marriage, left Glenlyon to return no more. The boy, known by the name of *Cailean Lionnach*, was brought up by his uncle Lawers. Cairlean Gorach died about 1597.

*Donnachadh Ruadh Mac Cailein* (Red Duncan, the son of Colin), followed his father's footsteps in protecting the M'Gregors. After the battle of Glenfruin, the persecution of the clan was renewed with tenfold severity. The story of this battle, and the immediate cause which led to it, as I learned from the grey-haired sennachies who knew the past, is as follows: Before Marshal Wade paved the way for carriers and stage-coaches, the Highlanders received all their little necessities and luxuries through the hands of pedlars, who made regular visits to one or other of the large towns, and brought back in their packs the articles chiefly in demand at home. The pedlars, as a class, were of great importance to the whole community, and Highland faith and hospitality guaranteed to them security and good reception wherever they went. Two pedlars of the M'Gregors of Dunan, in the Braes of Rannoch, were benighted while on their way home from Glasgow, on the property of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss. They asked hospitality, which was refused. This churlishness was owing to the quarrels of the Colquhouns with their neighbours, the M'Gregors of Glengyle; but the Colquhouns, in setting limits to the hospitality asked, so far violated the conventional and hereditary code of Highland morality, that the pedlars deemed themselves justified in taking what was refused. They kindled a fire in an unoccupied sheiling-house, and taking a wedder from the fold, killed it, and feasted on its carcase. Unluckily for them, the wedder was the most

marked animal in the fold. It was black all but the tail, which was white. In the morning, the shepherds missed at once "*Mult dubh an earbail ghil*"—the black wedder with the white tail. The pedlars were at once suspected, pursued, captured, brought back, condemned, and hanged without delay. The M'Gregors could not tamely pass over such an affront. Alastair of Glenstrae, the chief of the clan, with about 300 men, left Rannoch in the beginning of the year 1602, and encamped on the Colquhoun marches. He proposed an accommodation, on condition that the Colquhouns acknowledged their fault, and made reparation to the friends of the deceased by paying the blood *eric*. Sir Humphrey, having assembled a large force—composed of Colquhouns, Buchanans, and the citizens of Dumbarton—scorned the offers of peace. The battle of Glenfruin was fought, Colquhoun's party utterly routed; and during the fight, *Dugald Ciar Mor*, who quietly sleeps now in the churchyard of Fortingall, stabbed a number of clerical students who had come from Dumbarton to see the battle, and had been consigned to his care by the chief. When the latter inquired for the students, Dugald showed his bloody dagger, and said: "Ask that, and God's mercy"—that being the exclamation of the students when dying.

After this battle, the crusade against the clan raged with irresistible fury. The Laird of Glenlyon dared no longer openly protect them; and his brave heart swelled to see Lawers exultingly scouring the glen with his blood-hounds. In secret, Duncan and his men did all they could to succour the fugitives. One of the proscribed, by name *Gregor Ban Mor*, after running the gauntlet for some time with his pursuer, and making more escapes than I can here describe, one

day suddenly presented himself before Donnachadh M'Caillein, and offered him his sword, bidding him do with him what he liked, as he was weary of life. "Keep your sword," said Duncan; "I do not pursue your clan. If you wish to surrender, go to Lawers; he knows how to mete out mercy and justice to the M'Gregors." "To Lawers? and die the death of a dog by the hands of a coward! No; since I must die, let me receive the death-blow as a warrior should—from a brave man." "By Mary! you say well; will you go to Lawers with a letter from me?" "I will." "Then you will set out to-night, and, if he lets you go, be back to-morrow at noon." So said, so done. M'Gregor, under the safeguard of Glenlyon's letter, presented himself to Lawers in the morning, when making ready to renew the pursuit after him. The cruel are generally cowardly; and Lawers was glad to let the enemy, now within his power, off scot free, ere more harm came of it. M'Gregor lost some time on the way, and was an hour or two too late in appearing before Glenlyon. He found the chieftain at the head of his men, banner displayed, and pipe playing, on the point of marching to Breadalbane, to revenge the supposed death of the fugitive. Gregor explained. The chieftain smoothed his ruffled brow, and said: "It is well. Had it been otherwise, ere night the house of Lawers would perish—stock, shoot, and branch. Though in my quarrel with *Black Duncan with the Cowl*, kindred blood glues the sword to the scabbard, thank Heaven! there is no such bar to hinder my revenge upon his minion Lawers." This is the abridged version of a story often yet told over the winter fire by the old Highlanders.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, or "Black Duncan



with the Cowl" (*Donnachadh dubh a churraichd*), the uncle of M'Cailein, was, according to the unvarying testimony of Highland tradition, a character such as cannot here very well be described. In high credit at the Court of James VI., he easily obtained charters of the lands of the M'Gregors and other foolish chieftains, who continued to hold their property by "*coir a chlaidheamh*," then set them together by the ears, and, when weakened by mutual slaughter, by the power conferred upon him in the charters, or under the pretext of preserving the public peace, he quietly took possession of the belligerents' land, which he ever afterwards held by no slippery grasp. We may give one example of his *modus operandi*. Fletcher of Achallader had a small estate in the Braes of Glenorchy. Sir Duncan, wishing to have the whole glen, took his measures to destroy his neighbour, and, as usual, without implicating himself. With some attendants—among whom was an English servant—he went, as if on a friendly visit, to the Laird of Achallader. When near the house, he ordered the Englishman to go forward, and let the hungry horses loose in a patch of corn on the haugh, and if any spoke to him, to give no heed, as he would soon be forward himself, and see everything put to rights. The servant did as required. Fletcher, astounded to see the man letting the horses loose in his corn, called upon him, from one of the windows of his house, to remove them immediately ; and, as he paid no attention, threatened, with the irascibility of a Highlander, to shoot him upon the spot. The Englishman, who understood not a word, gave no sign of compliance ; and Fletcher, in a transport of boundless rage, put his threat into execution, and the servant fell. Sir Duncan took good

care to be near enough to witness the tragedy. He showed to Fletcher that his life had become forfeited to the law, that there was no resource but immediate flight, and as his property would be clearly lost, if remaining in his own name, he advised him to make it over to him (Sir Duncan) by a kind of fictitious sale then very prevalent, and he promised to hold it in trust for him until he returned. Fletcher did as advised, with many thanks ; and the friendly Sir Duncan efficiently provided against his ever returning to claim the property.

The all-grasping knight could not at times keep his fingers off the properties of the *Sìol Diarmid* itself. As observed before, the legal tenure of land was for long little appreciated by the Celtic clans ; and after claims to the lower and more fertile places were settled and secured, the mountain sheilings, used as summer pasture, remained often a kind of commonity among the clansmen of different chieftains. Luban, in the braes of Glenlyon, was in this predicament. The Laird of Glenlyon claimed it by prescriptive right. Sir Duncan advanced counter claims as King's forester. The quarrel, some time in abeyance, was brought to a crisis by M'Cailein building a shepherd's hut on the disputed ground. Sir Duncan, whose genius lay rather in the tricks of diplomacy than in the rough jousting of war, proposed a friendly conference to settle all disputes on the spot. M'Cailein came on the appointed day with the stipulated number of twelve armed attendants ; but what was his amazement to find his uncle and a hundred men in arms before him at the obnoxious hut ! He saluted him, however, as though no treachery were intended. Sir Duncan, with the cold smile his countenance usually assumed, pointed to his men,



and in studied terms showed his claims, and exhorted his kinsman peacefully to drop all opposition. M'Cailein stood before the wily man, his brow clouded with anger, but firmly self-confident. With an effort at self-control, he heard him uninterruptedly to the end, but not without paying dear. The point of his unsheathed sword rested on his soft brogue, and unconsciously he kept boring with it until brogue and foot were equally pierced through. "Now give thy say for peace, fair nephew," concluded Sir Duncan. "Never!" fiercely replied M'Cailein. "What," said the knight—"what can you hope to do with your pitiful twelve against my hundred? My men, pull down the hut." "Whatever a man of *clean heart* may against a craven treacherous fox"—making a spring, clutching Sir Duncan by the throat, and brandishing his sword. "I shall have your life first, and as many other lives afterwards as I can." His men now could do little for the knight; for M'Cailein, at their slightest movement to rescue him, threatened to plunge his sword in their captain's breast, and they knew he was the man to keep his word. Sir Duncan begged pardon, and obtained it. His parting words were: "St. Martin, nephew"—(by-the-bye, how or when did Martin of Tours become a chief Scottish Saint?)—"I will not risk my good against your violence; but of me will yet come those who shall possess Luban." Magician as he was counted to be, these words did not prove prophetic.

But Sir Duncan, if a magician himself, did not approve of magic in others. On one occasion, when clan necessity had thrown him and his nephew together, an Italian wizard accosted Sir Duncan, offering to show him wonders. The knight pooh-poohed, and told him to go to M'Cailein, add-

ing he was ready to gape at his impostures. He did as advised ; and the chieftain, pleased at the man's performance—who, from his pretensions, appears to have been a Rosicrucian—gave him what money was in the sporran. The Italian, touched at the liberality, offered M'Cailein a miraculous stone, said to be preserved yet in the family of Garden of Troup, that through the female line became heirs-at-law to Dr. David Campbell, the last Laird of Glenlyon. It was called, in the language of the country, "clach-buadha"—stone of victory—because water off this stone, when sprinkled by the heir of Glenlyon upon his men before entering battle, ensured them success. It was also reckoned a charm against ball wounds, lead being supposed to have no effect on those sprinkled by it. This became apocryphal, at least after the battle of Sheriffmuir, in which several of the Glenlyon men fell by musket wounds. It was one property of this stone, that, when put into cold water, it caused it to bubble as if boiling.

Red Duncan was not as prudent as he was brave. The following gambling story I give as I received it. Some law plea had brought M'Cailein to Edinburgh. Having nothing else to do, he entered a gambling-house, and sat down to play at cards with the master. M'Cailein lost game after game ; but, as if taking pleasure in seeing himself plucked, he continued to play. When his cash was gone, he rose to depart. "Come," said the gambler, "you have lost often ; let us have another game, and, to give you your revenge, I don't mind though I stake two to one." "My sporran is turned inside out," replied he. "Never mind ; I'll stake cash against your word, chief, if you pledge it." "No ; the word of a Highland chief is pledged only

among those who know it shall be redeemed. He speaks in deeds to the suspicion of the strangers. Here are the title-deeds of my property (I had to produce them before your *Red Lords* to-day); I'll stake them, subject to redemption within forty days, on this game." It is over. M'Cailein rises: his brow is flushed; he grasps the gambler's hand, making the blood start at the nails; his voice sounds as a muffled drum, or like the ghost of the storm. "The home of my fathers is yours, and may the devil give you joy of it. But when taking possession, encase yourself in steel. The land is yours; but, mark me, the men are mine. A Saxon cowherd may be baron. God forbid he can be chief. Adieu!"

The time was short, money scarce, and, however willing, M'Cailein's friends were unable, within the appointed period, to raise the sum necessary. Sir Duncan is said to have been applied to in vain. The crest-fallen Laird returned to Edinburgh empty-handed. When about entering the gambling-house, to see what was going on, the servant-maid took him aside, and asked (in Gaelic) whether he was the gentleman that, a month before, lost his property at cards. Being answered in the affirmative, she said: "Well, I am sorry for you, and will do all I can to help you. Don't enter just now; go somewhere, and disguise yourself. Return, and when I tell you, enter. You will find the room empty; place yourself in the chair opposite the mirror. You shall see in it what cards your opponent holds. He'll dare not ask you to leave his chair; and it's hard if I can't trump up a story to make him play at any venture. M'Cailein did as directed, and won one game after another. The gambler refused to play any longer, as his money was

all lost. "Come," said M'Cailein, "I leave Edinburgh to-morrow. I'll stake my whole gains on the next game." "I have nothing," said the other, "but the title-deeds of a Highland property, which I won the other day, and are subject to redemption." "What is the name of the place?" "Glenlyon, I think." "Glenlyon and M'Cailein! I know them well. Make sieves of your parchments at the first opportunity; the glen people are real devil's bairns. Set up a claim against M'Cailein, and you'll have a dozen dirks in your body ere night." "But you accept the stake, I hope?" "Well, I do, though it is throwing bread upon the water." Red Duncan was again the winner; and, as he pocketed his money and papers, he told his astonished opponent who he was. Coming home, he met his relative Sir Duncan, *en route* for Edinburgh, to buy Glenlyon for himself.

Duncan M'Cailein died at an advanced age, about 1640. I find no trace of it in local tradition, but he, more probably than any of his ancestors—certainly than any of his descendants—was the hero of the old ballad—

" Bonnie Babby Livingstane  
Gaed oot tae see the kye,  
And she has met with Glenlyon,  
Who has stolen her away.

" He took frae her her sattin coat,  
But an her silken gown,  
Syne row'd her in his tartan plaid,  
And happ'd her roun' an' roun'."



#### IV.

ARCHIBALD, the eldest son of *Donnachadh Ruadh*, married, in 1631, Jean, the daughter of Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch, who, on the death of his elder brother, Sir Colin, became Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy. He was the second son of Black Duncan, and the grandfather of the first Earl of Breadalbane, called by the country people, "Jain Glas"—that is, "Pale John." Archibald's eldest son, Robert, the commander at Glencoe, was born in 1632. The family estate, much burdened by the imprudent extravagance of Duncan, was relieved of almost all the claims upon it, in a few years, by the fostering care of Archibald, to whom the father had given up the entire management in his own lifetime. But Archibald was not destined to reap the benefit of his wisdom, or realise his plans of ambition and family aggrandisement. He died suddenly about 1640, a few years before his father. The aged Duncan reappeared upon the stage, and his first act was characteristic of the man : it was granting a bond for 1000 merks to Patrick Campbell of Murlaganbeg, who married his daughter Grace or Girsell.

Between 1640 and 1654, when Robert Campbell attained his majority, Glenlyon was under a tutor and a minor. The Lady Glenlyon, as she was called, sedulously kept free from taking any part in the civil war of that troubled epoch. Her tenants, however, following their own inclination, and

the known sentiments of their dead chieftain, joined the standard of Montrose under Patrick Roy M'Gregor, the chief of his clan, and the Lady of Glenlyon's second husband. Montrose showed his gratitude to the Glenlyon men, by sparing their lands and houses, when, on his march to Argyre, he mercilessly laid waste Breadalbane and other possessions of Campbell of Glenorchy. In 1655, when Robert was 23 years of age, Cromwell had Scotland prostrated by the victories of Dunbar and Worcester ; Ireland paralysed by the butcheries of Tredah and Wexford—her very pulse of life repressed by the inflexible severity of Ireton, and the pushing energy of Ludlow ; England beginning to enjoy the sweets of peace, and content to let her magnanimous Protector dissolve the phantom Parliament, and sternly inculcate lessons of toleration on jarring sects. Her naval strength broken, Holland now sued for peace ; Blake scoured the Mediterranean, threatened the Pope, humbled the Duke of Tuscany, and made his name a terror to the dusky warriors of Tunis and Algiers. The daring usurper, secure at home, admired abroad, could at the same time, and with equal ease, exact the obsequiousness of Mazarin, browbeat the court of France, execute the brother of the Portuguese ambassador on Towerhill, hold out the hand of friendship to Protestant Sweden, and aim a death-blow at the haughtiness of Spain. The hapless heir of loyalty, an outcast from his country, his services refused by the Dutch, disowned and banished by the court of France, lavishing on sensual and degrading debaucheries the sums doled out to the princely beggar by royal hands, seemed by his very vices to have taken a bond of fate, for shutting him out for ever from succeeding to the British throne. Still, through his exile



and follies, the national eye of Scotland followed with fond desire the heir of her hundred kings. The Covenanters and Highlanders met at last on common ground : these hoping, on the exaltation of Charles, to expiate the affront offered to the whole Celtic race by the expulsion of the Stuarts ; those hoping, under a Prince who had signed the Covenant, to recover their lost theological supremacy and independence—both trusting to retrieve the honour of their country, and recover the martial wreath lost at Worcester and Dunbar. During Cromwell's domination, the spirit of loyalty among the Campbells themselves attained such strength as to quench personal feuds and enmities of long standing. The first thing in which we find the name of Robert Campbell is a precept of *Clare Constat*, from Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorehy to Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, dated 20th July, 1655. The son of *Black Duncan with the Cowl* and the grandson of M'Caillein became fast friends in their eagerness to serve their Prince. Monk, who appears to have been well aware of the intrigues among the clans, prudently provided against any opportunity of an outbreak, and with such success as to be able, whenever he pleased, down to the end of the Protectorate, to date his despatches from the Castle of Finlarig ; but as he passively connived at loyal movements, if he not actually fostered them, it seems highly probable he wished the spirit to spread, and the knowledge that such materials for a royal army existed in Scotland certainly influenced his conduct on the death of Oliver.

Perhaps it was unfortunate for the laird of Glenlyon that war did not break out ; as it was, young and comparatively rich, he plunged headlong into the pleasures of the Restoration, and soon reduced himself to difficulties from which

an age of repentance could not extricate him. Before the establishment of banks, almost all monetary exchange was carried on through heritable and personal bonds. A wanted money ; he applied to B, who lent him a bond upon D sufficient to pay the debt, for which A granted to B his own bond, redeemable at a certain date, and burdened with a penalty in case of failure. In this case, say that B represents the bank, and the bond upon D bank-notes, which are in effect bonds payable on demand. Now, as there is considerable risk, A's bond must not only cover the sum advanced, with the usual adrent and penalty, but also a farther sum to indemnify B for the risk he runs in surrendering to A the bond upon D, or his bank-notes, in exchange for A's bond. A is a landed proprietor ; he grants in course of time to B, and others, several similar bonds. B quarrels with A, and buys up all the bonds granted by the latter to others ; the amount of these, and of those he himself holds, he claims from A. A is well aware that his lands are worth ten times the sum, but as he cannot realise the money, and letters of horning and caption are out against him at B's instance, he is obliged to wadset his lands to the latter, reserving the power of redemption for a certain number of years. At the end of that time, A cannot pay, and B becomes the permanent lord of the manor. The extreme facility in granting, and the always increasing difficulties in reclaiming, ruined probably more of the British nobility and gentry in the reign of Charles II. than the whole number the sword had cut off of their class in England during the bloody *war of the Roses*.

Robert, about 1670, married Helen Lindsay, and put the copestone on his imprudent extravagance by commencing



extensive alterations and repairs on his castle of Meggernie, originally built by his great-grandfather, *Cailean Gorach*. The repairs were finished in 1673, and at the same time his credit was exhausted. His unreclaimed bonds were many, and the holders clamorous for payment. The machinery of the law was set in motion against him, and we find in that year "Our Sovereign Lord" ordaining a letter to be made under his Majesty's privy seal of a signature of the estate and liferent of Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, in favour of Patrick Stewart of Ballaguhine. A compromise was, however, entered into. The splendid fir forests of Glenlyon were sold to a company of merchants, at the head of which was a certain Captain John Crawford. This relieved Robert of the more pressing claims. Yet it was with grief and indignation he saw his woods, the relics of the great Caledonian forest, destroyed by the stranger; and he was glad when Crawford had trespassed on the jointure lands of his mother, to have a chance to stop him in name of the law, as follows:—"At Milton of Glenlyon, the twenty-eight day of July, j<sup>m</sup>. vic. and seventy-seven years—which day, in presence of me, notary public, and witnesses underwritten, compeared personally Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, as factor for Jean Campbell, Lady Glenlyon elder, his mother, and having in his hands ane factory made and granted by her to him for acting and doing for her in everything, &c.; and anent her hurts and prejudices done to her by Captain John Crawford, by cutting and destroying the ground, cornes, and grass pertaining to her, as part of her jointure out of the lands of Glenlyon, and damming and stopping the water of Lyon, and the fishing thereof, and also in sending down by the said water the timber of two thousand of great fir planks in

one bulk, which dammed the whole water in several places thereof, and hindered the whole fishing of the said river for the space of last year. Wherefore the said Robert Campbell, day and date thereof, said place where the said Captain John Crawford and said workmen are now working at said work, made civil interruption, and desired them and the rest of their company to desist and cease : \* \* \* And in like manner protested against the said Captain John Crawford, for cutting of the said woods and laying the same in great heaps, and keeping a great fire thereat, and burning of the same in manifest contempt and prejudice, &c. And in like manner forbad these things now done on Druim-an-lochane, in Milton of Eonan in Glenlyon, between three and four hours in the afternoon. \* \* \*

The mention of the great fires kept in the woods will explain to the Glenlyon men why the stocks of fir, which they disentomb from the moss for their winter light, are mostly all charred, and, as the date is known, it affords an excellent mark for determining the growth of the moss itself. The "civil interruption" of the legal instrument was not quick enough in its operation to please the Glenlyon people. The dam was broken, and the sawmill set on fire one fine summer evening, and I have heard in boyhood a song in which it was commemorated :—" Mar loisc iad na daimh chrochdach air bord a mhuilinn shabhaidh"—*i.e.*, "How they burned the wide-horned oxen on the boards of Crawford's sawmill ;" it being oxen that he used, instead of horses, for dragging the wood. Crawford had made himself extremely unpopular. His sawmill was erected at first on the same stream with Eonan's mill ; and, as the water was not sufficient to keep the two going together, many an unlucky wight had long

to wait Crawford's high behest before his corn could be ground. It happened once that an honest man had so wasted the whole day, and still there was no appearance of the sawmill being stopped. Meantime, two or three of the neighbours dropped in to have a crack ; the mill, the smithy, and the kirk being then, as afterwards, the places for the exchange of news. As they entered into conversation, the man who wanted his corn ground, addressing one of the new-comers—who was believed to have the gift of the evil eye—said: "Well, Callum, I'll give you something, if you go up to Crawford's mill and praise it." Callum did go, and, looking at the saw, praised it very much. Crawford, well pleased, was at pains to show him how the wheels worked. Unhappy man ! under the blasting influence of the evil eye, the machinery got entangled, the saw-wheel broke, and a splinter, striking a workman in the face, deprived him of an eye ! It is needless to add, Crawford's mill came to a dead stand, and the countryman got his meal made—thanks to the potent influence of the *Beum-sul*.

I have mentioned above how the families of Glenorchy and Glenlyon were reconciled. The good old Sir Robert appears to have purchased his grandson's goodwill partly by granting him a leasehold tack of some of his lands in Lorne. We find Sir Robert's successor, Sir John, in 1662, recovering these lands on payment of a certain sum of money to Glenlyon, whose expenses were already exceeding his income. We have shown how a man could be ruined by the bond system of exchange. Now, it is evident in the case of a man of tact, cunning, and prudence, the converse was just as easy and certain. Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, inheriting the talents and intriguing spirit of his ancestor,

Sir Duncan, rather than the quiet, friendly disposition of his father and grandfather—and having, as described by Mackay, “the gravity of a Spaniard, the cunning of a fox, the wisdom of a serpent, and the slipperiness of an eel”—was for the last 40 years of his life perhaps the most important character of the north. Courted for his influence and ability, he cheated James and William in turns, executed his own projects under the mask of their authority, and veiled treachery and treason with such cleverness as always to evade punishment, often suspicion; he was the Fouchê of the Highlands. Buying up a great many bonds granted by George Sinclair, 6th Earl of Caithness, whose widow he afterwards married as his second wife, he served himself that nobleman’s chief creditor, and obtained a disposition from him of his whole estate and earldom, with the hereditary jurisdiction and titles. When the Earl died in 1676, Sir John’s claim was acknowledged by Government, and he was created—by patent, dated 28th June, 1677—Earl of Caithness. The next heir male of the house of Caithness—George Sinclair of Keiss—contested his claim, and the Caithness men refused to pay rent to Sir John, or acknowledge him as Earl. In 1677 or 1678, Sir John, now Earl of Caithness, granted to Robert Campbell a bond for 5000 pounds (Scots of course); and in the year 1680, Glenlyon, at the head of the Breadalbane and Glenlyon men, entered Caithness in hostile array to reduce the refractory Sinclairs to obedience. The raid is named *Ruaig Ghallu*—the rout of Caithness. Gallu is still the name given by the Highlanders to Caithness, on account of its having been possessed by the Scandinavians, a remarkable instance of the use that could be made of the names of places in the

study of ethnology. The Sinclairs, it appears, expected the invasion, and were fully prepared to meet it. In such force did they muster, that Glenlyon and his friends did not deem an immediate trial of strength advisable. The Campbells began a sham retreat, the Caithness men following in full pursuit, till the foe retired from their bounds. The Sinclairs then halted at a village on the confines of the earldom, and made a happy night of it, drinking generous mountain dew to excess in honour of their success, and to the confusion of enemies—the very thing the wily Campbell wanted. In the early morning, he surprised the disorderly mob, killed a great number, utterly routed the remainder, pushed on without intermission, and drove off the unguarded *creach* without further let or hindrance. The women and children—the only persons left at home—were fearfully roused from their morning slumbers by the exulting strains of Glenlyon's piper, who, to give greater *eclat* to the affair, improvised for the occasion the pibroch called "*Bodaich nam Briogan*"—i.e., *Carles in Trousers*; the latter being the lower habiliments of the Caithness men, in contradistinction to the kilts of the Gael. In the following version of some of the Glenlyon words to this pibroch, I have attempted nothing like a literal translation, but I trust something of the spirit is preserved, so as to give the reader ignorant of Gaelic some idea of the jubilant strain of triumph in the original :—

BODAICH NAM BRIOGAN, OR BREADALBANE'S MARCH.

Women of the lonely glen,  
 Are ye sleeping, sleeping then?  
 When Glenlyon's hostile lance  
 Routs in hundreds all at once.  
 Bodaich nam Briogan, early?

And broken host and dastard flight,  
The field, where grim Death sits bedight,  
Confess to our prowess fairly ?

Dream'st yet of safety, sleeping dame ?  
Hear, then, to my pibroch's echoing swell :  
It tells the sgeul,\* and tells it well,  
Of slaughtered men  
And forayed glen,  
The victor's joy and *your country's* shame :  
Who is first in the chase will find the game.  
Rise, *widowed* dame ?  
The breezes fan  
The Campbells' broad banners early !

The victors quartered themselves for some time among the vanquished. They brought home the spoils without mishap ; and in addition to the cattle, as the Highlanders express it, they brought "*Or Ghallu gu bord Bhealaich*"—"the gold of Caithness to the table of Balloch" (or Taymouth). In 1681, the king put an end to the feud, by making Sinclair Earl of Caithness, and granting Sir John a new patent of nobility, dated 13th August, 1681, creating him Earl of Breadalbane and Holland, with the precedence of the former patent.

News.







V.

THE spirit of clanship, aggressive beyond its own pale, was strictly conservative within. The chief of a large clan felt it as much his bounden duty to see to the stability and welfare of the chieftains, as they, in their turn, were obliged to look to the happiness and preservation of their dependents. It has already been shown how Robert Campbell involved himself in difficulties that proved insurmountable. He struggled on for a few years; but, sinking deeper and deeper, recourse was ultimately had to the *Comhairl'-taighe* of the clan of Diarmid. The following deed, by which the chief, and the next most powerful nobleman of the clan, were nominated trustees, in order, if possible, to restore the Laird of Glenlyon to his former independence, was the result. The document is given, as far as it can be deciphered, *literatim et verbatim* :—

“ Be it kend to all men be thir present Letters, Me Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, Forsameikle as I considering, That \*yr are severall debts, soumes of monney, and oyr incumberances affecting and burdeineing my Lands and others belonging to me, tending to the apparent ruine and distructione of my esteat and fortune, iff not tymously prevented by prudent and wholsome counsell and advyce ; And yt it is simply and altogether impossible for me, be my-self allon, to take course with the sd debts and incumberances, and to manadge my affaires and con-

\* In most documents older than 1700, and in not a few of later date, the character “y” represents the alphabet letters “th.”



cernements, so as to freile relieve, and disburden my Lands and estate yrof, without the counsell, advyce, and concurrence of some of my good freinds in whom I repose my trust. And lykeways understanding how easie I may be circumveined and deceived in the management of my affaires, by subtile and craftie persones, who have designes upon me, and may intyse me to the dilapidatione of my Lands, rents, goods, and geir, to my great hurt and prejudice ; And I being fully persuaded, and haveing good prooff and experience, off the love and kyndnes my noble and reale freinds, Archibald, Earle off Argyle, and John, Earle off Caithnes, have towards me, and for the standing of my familie, whose advyce and counsell I now resolve to use, and be whom I am heirefter to be governed in all my affaires and business. Thairfor witt ye me to be bound and obleidged, Lykeas I, be thir pr<sup>ts</sup>, faithfully bind and obleidge me, noways to sell, annailzie, wad-set, dispone, dilapidat, nor putt away, non of my Lands, heretages, nor rents, tacks, haddings, possessiones, goods and geir, moveable and imoveable, to whatsom-ever persone or persones, nor to make noe privat nor publict dispositiones, resignationes, remunerationes, assignationes, translationes, discharges, nor any oyr right yrof, nor of no pairt of the same, nor to make any contracts, bonds, obligationes, or oyr writts, qrb<sup>y</sup> the same in haill or in pairt, may be wasted, apprysed, or adjudged ; nor contract debt, nor make \* \* \* nor bargaines, nor doe any oyr fact nor deed anent the premises without the joint advyce, consent, and assent of my fsd noble and reale freinds, Archibald, Earle of Argyle, and John, Earle of Caithnes, and, in case of any of their deceases, with the consent of the survivor first hade and obtained yrt in writt. Without whose consent as fsd, and in case of any of their deceases, without consent of the survivor, I shall doe nothing concerneing the premises. Wheirin if I faillie, or doe in the contrarie, I doe heirby will and declare, that all such deeds soe to be done be me shall be voyd and null in themselves, as if the same hade never bein made, and yt be way of escriptione or reply, without necessitie of any declerator to follow yrupone. And for the more securitie, I am content and consent thir pr<sup>ts</sup> be regrat in the books of Counsell and Sessione, or any oyr books competent to have the streanth of ane dec<sup>t</sup> of the Lords or Judges yrof underponed yrto—that letters of publicatione and others necessar in forme as effeires may be direct theirupone ; and to that effect constitute ——— my prcrs. In witnes qrof, I have sub<sup>t</sup> thir pr<sup>ts</sup>. (written by Colin Campbell, procr in Edin<sup>r</sup>.) with my hand at

witnesses—James Currie and Sir William Binning, late Provost of Edin<sup>r</sup>. the fyft of (August) j<sup>m</sup>. vi<sup>c</sup>. and eightie-one yeires, befor thir Edin<sup>r</sup>. and Sir Patrick Threip-Land, late Provost of Perth, \* \* and witnes my hand,  
R. CAMPBELL, off Glenlyon.

James Currie, Witnes.

W. Binning, Witnes.

P. Threip-Land, Witnes.”

The month in the attesting clause is partly obliterated, but appears to be what is given above ; and, if so, it was exactly 24 days after Argyle's imprisonment. This is no cause for surprise. The Laird saw in his imprisonment nothing but a slight cloud, from which the chief would emerge with undimmed brightness. The astute Breadalbane, who guaged to a nicety the plots and counterplots of those miserable days, perceived at a glance that all was over with the Earl ; for the Duke of York never forgave an affront, and the free-spoken and patriotic Argyle had affronted him deeply on the subject of the test. Breadalbane, who had already broken off with the chief of the clan, was in high favour with the party in power, and within seven days after the above factory was signed—the Parliament settling, very favourably for him, the dispute between him and Sinclair of Keiss—he exchanged the title of Caithness for that of Breadalbane and Holland. The Red Douglasses succeeded the Black ; and when the star of Argyle was sinking, why should not that of Breadalbane arise ? Nothing hindered it certainly, but that the chieftains of the name had a very strong prejudice against rallying around any other banner but Macaileinmore's. His future deeds show clearly that Breadalbane aimed at succeeding to the influence, if not to the property, of the Argyles, and the foregoing is just a specimen of the way he went about breaking

in the chieftains to his will. The family of Glenlyon, more nearly related than almost any other, was traditionally hostile to his, and the present Laird, though in his meshes, was not uniformly docile ; at any rate, there was no harm in making assurance double sure ; and so the foregoing was one of the many moves in the game he played for the leadership of the clan. The Revolution, as it finally upset all his plans, taught Breadalbane that "the best laid schemes of mice and men gang oft ajeer ;" but even after that, he showed he had not given up the darling hope of his life in despair. To relieve Glenlyon immediately was no part of Breadalbane's policy, which, to a great extent, might have been done by simply paying, what was his due, the bond of 5000 pounds granted to him for the expedition to Caithness. This was not done ; indeed, it was not all paid up at the Earl's death in 1716. Glenlyon traditions go much farther than this in accusing the Earl ; but I have confined myself to what, as regards the facts, can be proved, for, much as he wished to make the Laird a useful and obedient dependent, I cannot see how, at this time at least, it would have subserved Breadalbane's interest—and he always looked to his interest—to put an extinguisher on the family of Glenlyon ; and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, as he did the family at a later period, when they were too reduced to be feared, some acts of real kindness, and as the successor of Robert Campbell confided in him as his friend and patron.

It is delightful to find that, when deserted by those who ought to have supported him, the M'Gregors repaid with grateful devotion the protection extended to their ancestors by Colin Gorach and his brave son. After more than a century of persecution and wrong—by which the clan had

been nearly extinguished, and lost all their possessions—it was not to be expected that they could command much money.

“ But, doomed and devoted by vassal and lord,  
The M'Gregors had still both their heart and their sword.”

Their little hoard was heartily at Campbell's service, and he availed himself of it without scruple. The following, among others, at different periods between 1673 and 1700, advanced sums varying from 100 to 300 merks each, to the distressed family of Glenlyon—viz., Duncan M'Gregor, corrector to the press, Savoy, London ; Duncan Menzies, late M'Gregor, Ardlarich, Rannoch ; Janet M'Gregor, Innervar, Glenlyon ; Duncan Murray, late M'Gregor, Roro, Glenlyon ; Archibald M'Gregor, Ardlarich, Rannoch. The clan at this time was completely broken, without chief or chieftain, and, in the majority of cases, obliged to assume other names. The M'Gregors, unlike the other creditors, patiently waited for twenty or thirty years, till the Glenlyon family could conveniently repay them, without having recourse to any legal coercion.

Argyle—condemned through a most shameless perversion of justice—when preparations were made for his execution, escaped from the Castle of Edinburgh, December, 1681, disguised as the page of his daughter-in-law, Sophia Lindsay. In passing the sentry at the gate, the Earl is said to have been so agitated as to let the lady's train drop in the mud, which she, with admirable presence of mind, snatching up, and scolding the pretended page as a careless loun, threw it into his face, thereby besmearing his features beyond all recognition. During his exile in Holland was hatched that ill-assorted plan of descent upon Eng-

land and Scotland which brought Argyle and Monmouth to the scaffold. Argyle arrived at Tobermory, in Mull, in May, 1685, and after a series of disasters, was taken prisoner near Dumbarton, in June, and beheaded at Edinburgh on the 26th of the same month, without the formality of a new trial. The fate of the chief—as Breadalbane was either unable or unwilling to succour him—left the Laird of Glenlyon without hope or refuge. His tenants were made aware of his difficulties. They laid their heads together, and, coming in a body, offered to give the Laird *Leath-baich* (half their byres), that is, the half of their cattle, for, from the earliest times downwards, cattle constituted the wealth of the Highlands. Campbell, justly proud of this splendid proof of attachment to his family, yet hesitated to accept their offer. He consulted his relative, Duncan Campbell, Roroyare, afterwards of Duneaves, who strongly advised him not to receive the gift, but rather sell a part of the property to pay the debts, and have the remainder free; “for,” says he, “take their cattle, and you are forever their slave; you cannot claim an additional *kain-hen* without their concurrence.” It may be added, in explanation, that originally the chiefs levied no regular rent, but were solely supported by the self-imposed and voluntary contributions agreed upon by the clansmen themselves, according to their opinion of the exigency of the need. The feudal charters that many of them had early obtained were calculated to strengthen against oppression from without, and also to arm them with powers to oppress within. The voluntary rate was called *Calpa*, while the feudal rent was named *Kain*. In 1685, feudal tenure was so little popular in Glenlyon, that the idea



of a chieftain alienating his lands was scarcely understood, and leases were altogether unknown, each man succeeding to his father's holding, unmolested by the Laird as long as he paid the customary calpa and followed him in war; while the spirit of clanship was so strong as to dictate an offer like the preceding, for maintaining the standing of an ancient family. Robert finally decided upon not despoiling his tenants, and, consequently, upon selling the bulk of his property. But as he was jealous of the interested motives of some gentlemen of his own clan—his friendly adviser and near relative especially—he determined no Campbell should succeed him. The whole estate of Glenlyon—Chesthill and the other jointure lands of his wife excepted—was privately sold to Lord Murray, Earl of Tullibardine, afterwards Duke of Athole. Soon after it became known that the glen was to be sold, the Laird was present at a deer-hunt in the Braes, when the deer, hard beset, took to the loch, which, as it is of no great extent, was immediately surrounded by keen sportsmen. It happened, in the cross-firing which followed, that Robert had a very narrow escape from being killed by a stray ball. On telling his escape, when the men congregated after the hunt, an old retainer of the family sharply turned round, and asked, "Where did it strike?" "Between my legs," replied the Laird. "Would to heaven," exclaimed the old man, "it had been between your loins, for then Glenlyon would not be sold."

On the 14th March, 1689, the Convention of the Estates, called together by circular letters from the Prince of Orange, already acknowledged King of England, met at Edinburgh. Momentous events, big with the fate of Scotland, followed

in rapid succession. Duke Gordon, at the instigation of Dundee, refuses to deliver up the Castle to the Convention; the King's friends are outvoted, and Duke Hamilton chosen president; William's letter is received, that of James read only under protest; the royalists prepare to withdraw from the Convention, and to convene a counter meeting at Stirling; Athole wavers; Dundee's life is threatened, and he leaves Edinburgh and bursts into the North. Eluding the vigilance of Mackay, he makes Lochaber his muster ground, and warns the Jacobites to assemble there in force on the 18th of May. In the interval, he comes himself to Athole, and confirms the Atholemen, probably by the connivance of their marquis, in their allegiance to King James. He makes an irruption as far as Dundee, surprising Perth on the way, and nearly taking Dundee. Returning to the mustering place, he leads the clans into Athole, and fixes upon Strowan for his head-quarters. Mackay, baffled in the north, has returned to Edinburgh, and by his prudence and sagacity restored confidence to the alarmed Convention. Afraid of allowing Dundee time to recruit from all parts of the Highlands, and the disaffected districts of the Lowlands—for which the central position of Athole afforded unusual facilities—Mackay, with a hardihood that does him credit, determined to attack the foe in his mountain fastnesses. Marching from Perth with an army nearly double that of Dundee, he penetrated the Pass of Killiecrankie without opposition, but there a defeat awaited him such as seldom befel a general. The battle of Killiecrankie restored to James all beyond the Forth; and, looking to the probabilities of the case, nothing could have saved the rest of Scotland from a



similar fate, had not the levin-bolt been quenched in the blood of Dundee. Cannan, who succeeded him, was altogether unworthy of his position ; and, by the little trust the clans had in his abilities, and his own remissness allowed all the fruits of the victory to escape from his grasp.

Among those who preserved a dubious neutrality while these things were taking place—but who would undoubtedly have joined the royalists had Dundee outlived his victory—was the Earl of Breadalbane. In a letter to the Laird of M'Leod, dated Moy, June 23rd, 1689, Dundee says—"I had almost forgot to tell you of my Lord Broadalbin, who, I suppose, will now come to the fields." But he was soon better informed ; for, in a letter to Lord Melfort, four days after, he says—"Earl Breadalbin keeps close in a strong hous ; he has and pretends the gout." The difference in the spelling almost proves, that, in the interval, Dundee had received a written missive from the Earl, who had then commenced to spell his name as in the second letter, in preference to the older mode, previously used by Dundee. The truth is, *Pale John*, as he was called in the Highlands, did not wish to see the family of Argyle re-established by the Revolution, and his own expanding influence contracted thereby. He, therefore, desired well for the royalists, but was too wise a man to risk his all, until victory had irrevocably chained success to their banners. After the death of Argyle in 1685, and the sale of the greater part of his own patrimony, which was nearly contemporaneous, the Laird of Glenlyon submitted to the chain his fathers had spurned, and became a most obedient dependent of Breadalbane ; and in this great national crisis especially identified himself with the latter's policy—viz., like him, remained at home.

Immediately after the battle of Killiecrankie, when neutrals and foes dreaded alike the depredations and vengeance of the victorious clans, the Laird obtained the following protection from Cannan, the successor of Dundee, which, from motives of delicacy in allowing him to choose his own party, is granted in name of his wife, but is addressed "To the Laird of Glenlyon," and runs thus :—

"Thes are dischairging all, upon sight heiroy, from troubling, molesting, wronging, or injuring the person of Helen Lindsay, Lady Glenlyon, hir Bairnes, or servants, or annie goods or gear properlie belonging to hir self ; and whoever contravein, shall not only repair the damadge, bot shall be punised according to justice. Given under my hand at lochend, the second day off Agust, j<sup>m</sup>. vi<sup>c</sup>. and eightie-nein,  
H. W. CANAN."

Appended is a note from the Laird of M'Naughton :—

"Cussen—I received yours, and have proquired this above-written protection, and what sévice I can doe you, or your familie, shall not be omitted by him who is your most affectionate Cussen & Servant,  
"J. M'NACHTAN.

"Pray haste to the stander with all your men."

We shall see hereafter how far this protection availed for the purpose for which it was granted.



## VI.

WHEN Dundee fled from the Convention, "Coll of the Cows," the head of the M'Donalds of Keppoch, was pursuing with relentless fury the broken host of the Mackintoshes, his ancient foes, and was, on the arrival of the Viscount in the north, threatening to sack Inverness. On receiving a large sum of money from the town, as compensation for alleged injuries, Coll and the citizens were reconciled through the intervention of Dundee, and both joined in supporting the Jacobite interest. An attempt was made to include the Mackintoshes in the general reconciliation, but Coll rated his friendship at such a high value as to render the attempt abortive. The Keppoch Chieftain was so enraged at the refractory spirit of Mackintosh, that, with the forced connivance of the high-souled Graham, he drove away all his cattle, most of which were kept among his own retainers. When Coll took such liberty under the eye of an energetic general, whose dearest plans were thereby put in peril, how could he be controlled by the weak, unpopular Cannan? Soon after the battle of Killiecrankie, several of the clans left the white standard to go to their several homes with the spoils gathered during the campaign. Coll of Keppoch left with his own men, and the M'Ians of Glencoe, his confederates, in October. Determined to gather their winter *mart* in going home, and aware they could not do so with any propriety or hope of success in the land of the Robert-

sons, who had fought with them under Dundee, they came round by Glenlyon, and gratified their love of plunder and their inveterate hatred to the Campbells, by harrying the little property still possessed by the poor Laird of Glenlyon. The Laird was completely off his guard ; relying on Canna's protection, the raid of Keppoch was the very last thing he feared. No opposition was offered to the marauders. The women and cattle were just home from the sheilings, and the men were peaceably engaged in getting in the last of the harvest. No sign preceded the storm. The rapacity of the M'Donalds was unexampled. In one of the huts they found an infant in a basket cradle, wrapt in a blanket. The child was turned out naked on the clay floor, and the blanket taken away. One of the Glenlyon men at the massacre of Glencoe—perhaps, except the Laird, the only man of them there—as he was slaughtering one of the M'Ians with the sword, used, it is said, at each successive thrust, the expressions of savage revenge—"There for Catherine's blanket !" "There for Colin's cows !" Colin was the brother of the Laird. Cambuslay, one of the Brae farms, was the portion allotted him by his father, and, as it lay conveniently in the way of the M'Donalds, they swept it clean. This was not the first time that Colin's cows were "lifted" by the M'Donalds of Glencoe and Lochaber. Robert of Glenlyon and his brother Colin were minors in 1644-45, when Montrose ravaged and burned Breadalbane and all the other lands of their maternal grandfather, Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy. The uncle of the boys, John Tutor of Glenlyon, who afterwards bought the estate of Duneaves, and founded a family there, was their legal guardian ; but they lived mostly with their mother and her

second husband, Patrick Roy M'Gregor, the landless chief of his clan, at Meggernie Castle, during their minority. Now Patrick Roy, with a thousand of his clan, joined Montrose ; and so Montrose spared Glenlyon when he despoiled and burned Breadalbane. But the confederate robbers of Glencoe and Keppoch—or a small band of them at least—violated the orders of Montrose, and swept away the cows of young Colin, and some also belonging to John the Tutor, which were grazing on Colin's lands. The “banarach bheag,” or little dairy-maid, Nic Cree, or M'Cree, who had charge of the calves, hid them in the rath of Cambuslay, and secretly followed the robbers to Glenmeuran with the double intention of recovering the cows and calling out the country. The poor girl was discovered and killed by the robbers. They had got hold of the chief dairy-maid, or “banarach mhor” at first, and taken her captive with them along with the cows. In her captivity this famed but nameless poetess composed the beautiful song, or lullaby, of *Crodh Chailein*, or “Colin's Cows,” which has ever since been used as a charm to make fractious cows give their milk, and soothe crying babes to sleep. The little dairy-maid must have succeeded before being killed in sending back information about the robbers and their trail, for it seems they were pursued, and most, if not all, of the cattle recovered before they could be got into the Glencoe “Thieves' Corrie.” Very probably, the clan M'Gregor who owed much to the family of Glenlyon, and whose chief was, at this time, restored to position and fair affluence by his marriage with the well-dowered widow of Archibald Campbell, younger of Glenlyon, helped to hunt down the thieves and to recover Colin's cattle. But the raid, although unsuc-

cessful, was a breach of faith under trust, and it swelled the already long list of grievous injuries suffered by Glenlyon at the hands of the M'Donalds of Glencoe and their kinsmen of Lochaber. Whenever Glenlyon cattle were "lifted" they were first, unless re-captured on the way, driven to Glencoe, where they were kept until they could be safely distributed among the confederates. There was, therefore, a feud of centuries between the two glens. The modern historians of the massacre of Glencoe aggravate Robert of Glenlyon's guilt by laying stress on the fact that Alexander, the son of M'Ian, was married to his niece. The blackest part of the whole business was the treachery planned by the Government, of which Glenlyon had no notice until the last moment. But as to the matrimonial relationship, it was thus the matter stood: Jean Campbell, daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy, married when very young, Archibald, the heir of Glenlyon, and was left a widow with two sons, Robert and Colin, when about twenty-five years old. Shortly afterwards, she married Patrick Roy M'Gregor, to whom she bore two sons and two daughters. After Patrick's death, she married Stewart of Appin, and by him had children also. It was to the Appin family of Glenlyon's mother that Alexander's wife belonged. The much married lady lived long, and the heavy settlements made upon her by her first husband and his father, along with the spend-thrift habits of her son Robert, ruined sadly the, till then, fairly flourishing Campbells of Glenlyon.

The "creach" of 1689 was not recovered like that of 1645. The cattle and the spoils were safely got to Glencoe, and there divided. The following is the list of goods and gear of which Glenlyon and his tenants were robbed on this occa-



sion. It is interesting on many accounts, and of especial importance to the historian of the Glencoe massacre :—

Ane List of the hail Goods and Gear taken away from the Laird off Glenlyon, and the Tenants underwritten, out of Chesthill and Balentyre, and Carnbane Little and Meikle, about the latter end of October, 1689, by Coill M'Donald of Keppoch and his Associates :—

<i>Chesthill.</i>	Lib. Sol. D.
Impr. spulzied and taken out of Chesthill, belonging to the Laird of Glenlyon, sex great English Meares, Estimatt to Twelve pundis sterling each, and in Scots money Thirfore, ... ..	864 0 0
Item, ane Brown Staig of three yeirs old, the sd. Brute estimatt to ... ..	200 0 0
Item, ane young Meare, and the pryse of same Brute, inde ... ..	106 13 4
Item, three pleuch horses, worth fourty pundis the piece, inde ... ..	120 0 0
Item, taken away of great Cowes, Three-scoir twelve, and fyftein three-yeir-old Cowes, and seventein two-yeir-olds, the Three-scoir and twelve great Cowes and the fyftein three-yeir-old estimatt to twentie merks the piece, and the seventein two-yeir-old estimatt to . . the piece, inde ... ..	1,160 0 0
Item taken away the sd. time, Eight-scoir and nyn sheep, estimatt to Two pundis 6 sh. 8d. the piece, all great . . . ...	394 6 8
Item, Ten goats @ Twa pundis the piece, inde ... ..	20 0 0
Item, Taken away out of the kitchen, several household plenishing, such as rack speitts, pleats, trenchers, and candlesticks, and uydre things, estimatt to ... ..	40 0 0
	<hr/>
	2,905 0 0

*Crofts of Chesthill.*

Item, taken away from John Macindui, yr. nyn great Cowes, fyve two-yeir-olds, and Two stirks—the nyn Cowes, fyve two-yeir-olds, and Two stirks, to these their worth twentie merks the piece, inde ... ..	266 13 4
Item, Threescoir and three head of great sheep and	



	Lib.	Sol.	D.
eighteen hogs, the great sheep at 40 sh. the head, and the hogs at 20 sh. the head, inde ... ..	144	0	0
Item, twenty-seven old goatts and 29 yeir-old goatts estimatt over head to three merks the piece, inde ...	82	0	0
Item, ffour peir horses and mears, with their followers, estimatt to ffourty merks the peir ... ..	106	13	9
Item, Two ffilies, two-yeir-old, the peire estimatt to twentie pund the piece ... ..	40	0	0
Item, household plenishing, worth ffyftie merks ...	33	6	8
	672	13	9
Item taken from Duncan Cleroch, cotter their, nyn cowes, great and small, estimatt over head twenty merks the piece, inde ... ..	146	13	9
Item, ffyftie head of sheep estimatt to 40 sh. the piece	100	0	0
Item, nyntein goatts, worth three merks the piece ...	38	0	0
Item, ane horse, worth ... ..	12	0	0
	296	13	9
Item, ffrom John Macilandrurst, cotter in Chesthill, Threttein sheep @ three merks the piece,... ..	26	0	0
Threttein goats at lyke pryce, ... ..	26	0	0
Item, ane horse and ane mear, their worth ... ..	26	13	4
	78	13	4
Item, ffrom John Macindui, croftsman, Chesthill, Two pleuch horses, worth 20 pund Scots the piece, ...	40	0	0
Item, ffrom him Twa Cowes, worth 25 merks the piece, ... ..	33	6	8
Item, nyntein head off sheep ffrom his sone, and ffourty from himself, @ 40 sh. the piece, inde ... ..	118	0	0
Item, spulzied plenishing, worth ... ..	13	6	8
	204	13	4
Item, ffrom John Macalyster, in Chesthill, ffourty-two head off sheep and goats, @ 40 sh. the piece, inde	84	0	0
And from Margaret Macanrue, now his spouse, three heads of cowes, at 25 merks . . . the pryce,	50	0	0

	Lib.	Sol.	D.
And Threttie-seven head of sheep @ forsd. pryce, ...	74	0	0
Item, Ten punds worth of plenishing, ...	10	0	0
	218	0	0

*Balentyre.*

Item, taken from Donald M'Gore, ffour Cowes estimatt @ Twentie merks the head, ...	53	6	8
Item, ffourty-three sheep, at 40 sh. the piece, ...	86	0	0
Item, off spulzied plenishing, worth ...	20	0	0
	159	6	8

Item, ffrom John M'Laren, then in Balentyre, now in Chesthill, threttie-seven head of sheep at the above pryce, ...	74	0	0
Item, seventeen goatts, at Twa merks and ane half the piece, ...	28	6	8
Item, ane mear, estimatt to ...	9	6	8
Item, of spulzied plenishing, worth ...	6	13	0
	118	6	8

Item, from Margaret Nicdermid, ffyve cowes, great and small, worth 20 merks the piece, inde ...	66	13	9
Item, Twa-yeir horse and ane mear, worth twentie punds the piece, ...	40	0	0
Item, Three-scoir head and three of sheep, @ 40 sh. the piece, ...	126	0	0
Item, of spulzied plenishing, worth ...	10	0	0
	242	13	9

*Carnbane More.*

Item, from Patrick Macarthur, then in Carnbane, now in Chesthill, sex cowes and ane Bull, at fford. pryce, ...	93	6	8
Item, Twentie-ffour head off greatt sheep, at three merks and ane half the piece, ...	56	0	0
Item, Eighteen goatts at the lyke pryce, ...	30	0	0
Item, ane horse, worth ...	30	0	0
	209	6	8

	Lib.	Sol.	D.
Item, ffrom John Ogilvie, then in Carnbane, now in Chesthill, ffour Cowes, worth twentie merks the piece.	53	6	8
Item, ffourty head of great sheep, ... ..	80	0	0
Item, ane sword worth ten merks, and a plaid worth ten merks, ... ..	18	6	8
	<hr/>		
	151	13	4
<i>Cambuslay.</i>			
Item, spulzied and away taken about the fforsd, tyme ffrom Coline Campbell, broyr to the Laird off Glenlyon, Be Ronald M'Donald, broyr to Keppoch, and Keppoch his kindred :			
Impr. Three pleuch horses, qrof two off them at 33 Lib.			
6s. 8d. the piece, and the oyr at 20 Lib. inde ...	86	13	4
Item, three meares, with their followers, worth ...	100	0	0
Item, sex Cows worth 25 merks the piece ...	100	0	0
Item, ffrom the sd. Coline his subtennents, ffourscoir Cowes, great and small, at Twentie merks over head			
1,160	0	0	
Item, ffrom the sd. tennents 335 sheep, ...	670	0	0
Item, from the sd. tennents, of armour, worth 66 Lib.			
13s. 4d. and of spulzied plenishing 100 Lib. inde ...	166	13	4
	<hr/>		
Sume of Lose, ... ..	2,283	6	8
<i>Galline.</i>			
Item, spulzied and away taken from the 4 tennents of Galline, ffytie head of Cowes, worth twentie merks the piece, inde ... ..			
833	6	8	
	<hr/>		
	833	6	8
	<hr/>		

Gallin for whatever reason it is entered in this list, did not at this time belong to Campbell, but was part of the property sold to Lord Murray. I do not see how Gallin was spulzied and the rest of Lord Murray's lands spared, as it is known was the case. I believe, therefore, the last item refers to some other foray, which took place before the estate was sold, and that it was entered at the foot of the more recent claim, as the only desperate chance of obtain-

ing satisfaction. In 1695 an action at civil law was commenced against Coll of Keppoch by the Lady Glenlyon in the absence of her husband, but I believe a long bill of costs against her was the only result ; for, though a verdict was easily obtained, "Coll of the Cows," was not the man to obey implicitly the decree of a judge. Excluding Gallin from the list, the other farms were held by Campbell in right of his wife, whose jointure they were, and they formed the whole of his possessions in Glenlyon. The foray left the laird and his tenants on the brink of starvation. And that would have been undoubtedly their fate next year, as, for want of horses, most of the land lay untilled, had not the laird's son-in-law, Alexander Campbell of Ardeonaig, stretched his credit with the Laird of Ochertyre, from whom he procured meal and grain for Campbell and his dependents. Any one, by running his eye over the foregoing list, will understand at once the thorough way in which the Highland robbers swept a glen. Here, at one fell swoop, a poor landlord and his few dependents lose their whole stock—all they had in the world—36 horses, 240 cows, 993 sheep, 133 goats, and whatever was portable of their little household furniture. The money value was estimated at £7,540 17s. 11d. Scots money, which was a large sum indeed in those days. Campbell, driven in his old age—he bordered on 60—to earn his daily bread, resumed his sword and became a soldier of the Revolution. Early in the year 1690, he obtained a company in the Earl of Argyle's Regiment of Foot.



## VII.

THE first glance we have of Robert Campbell, as the soldier of King William, is obtained from the following letter, addressed "ffor the Laird of Glenlyon, one of the Captains of the Earle of Argyle's Regiment, present Commandant at Drunnolich, for their Maties. Service."

Loving Coussine.—I receaved yours, and as to what my unkle says anent his Boats, you may wreitt too him and tell him, that I would follow his Inclinations in it ; but I have a certain use for the Boats before wee open the campagne, which I shall satisfie him of at metting. I shall need no Boats, but such as can goe the length of Inderlochie. He knows I am lazie to wreitt, so will excuse my not wreititting too him. I desyre to have my battalion your lenth on Tuesday ; you would contrive how my Regiment may be Quartered as near Drunnolich as possible, in Barns or otherwyse.—I am, you Loving Coussine,

\* \* \* \* CAMPBELL.

Inverary, September 28th, 1690.

The name is unfortunately effaced, and I have no means of ascertaining who was the writer. Campbell spent the next two years with his regiment in Argyleshire, without being engaged in any particular service. His wife and family at home were struggling against the severest poverty. After their lands had been harried by the M'Donalds, it was impossible for them, for want of means, to re-stock them immediately. The meal obtained from Sir Patrick Murray to keep the wolf—hunger—from the door, when the term came, could not be paid. Letters of

outlawry were issued against Campbell ; but what could be done ? "It was ill to tak his breeks off a Hielandman." Robert could not pay, and there should be an end of it ; but necessity has no laws ; another supply of meal must be procured or the family must starve. Lord Breadalbane owed Robert money, but at this, his hardest pinch, did not or could not pay him. I suspect the latter ; for now that the family were too reduced to be feared, and their lands had passed into other hands, he favoured and supported them as a matter of policy. Robert's son-in-law, Alexander Campbell of Ardeonaig, paid Sir Patrick, and the necessary supply was obtained. To Ardeonaig was assigned the bond on Lord Breadalbane, the only realisable source of means in poor Glenlyon's possession. After carefully investigating the accumulating miseries entailed upon his family by the raids of the M'Donalds—the proofs of which I hold in my hands—I can almost understand the stern joy with which Glenlyon carried out the outrageous behests of his Sovereign, and slaughtered, without remorse, men who had treacherously violated the protection of their commander-in-chief, to plunder the lands of an in-offensive man.

The M'Ians, as hardened and habitual robbers, according to the criminal code of that age, probably deserved, every one of them that was above twelve years of age, the punishment of the gallows. But at the Revolution, the executive was not strong enough to vindicate and protect the life and property of the subject, except through voluntary obedience, beyond the Highland barrier. The Campbells were the first to graft ideas of law and order upon the uncongenial stock of clanship. By consummate tact the



celebrated Marquis of Argyle had, through the influence of religion, gradually habituated his followers to the new order of things. The Clan Campbell, retaining all their hereditary affection for their chief, and consolidating, by their implicit obedience, his immense power in the council of the State and even over the fate of Scotland, were the first to take upon them the feudal yoke, and from being companions and equals to sink into the vassals of M'Caillein More. In the strict administration of justice between man and man, in the absolute security of life and property, and in the vigorous and impartial rule of the Marquis, they reaped the full reward of what the other Highlanders called their mean-spiritedness. The change in Argyle was rather in the morals of the people than in their civil condition. The Marquis was a paragon of a landlord, and his immediate successors never extended their feudal rights to the matter of rent and cain, which were allowed to remain on the old clan footing. Nevertheless, the Marquis, by fostering the change in the morals and habits of thinking prevalent among the clans, did *ipso facto*, become the Corypheus of obedience to the law in the Highlands, and concomitantly also of the race of absolute landlords, who, through the agency of a single factor, could sweep a glen in one day of 100 stalwart warriors. In introducing changes we are generally alive only to the immediate benefits which they promise, and leave time to discover their shortcomings and positive evils. The country of the Campbells, through the changes brought about by the Marquis, exhibited a picture of peacefulness and civilisation, which formed a strong contrast to the rest of the Highlands. The strange appearance of the strongest of the clans settling disputes according to law,

and yielding due obedience to the king's writ, arrested the attention of statesmen, and stimulated them to strong efforts to extend, through the same means, over the whole Highlands, the power of the executive. As the Campbells were at the head of the new party of progress, the M'Donalds stood forward pre-eminently as the champions of clanship. At the era of the Revolution, Coll of Keppoch and M'Ian of Glencoe vindicated the right of waging private war, and of living by the systematic plunder of the sword as freely as any of their ancestors of the Isles had done hundreds of years before. The neighbouring clans had to keep watch and ward against the marauders, and the exercise of arms necessarily kept alive the spirit of warfare, and retarded the progress of civilisation among the Campbells themselves; for a government too weak to protect from violence, and allowing men to shift for themselves, necessarily breeds contempt amongst the best disposed; and, when its orders run counter to their wills, rouse them to opposition and rebellion. The King's garrison of Inverlochie bridled the more open country of Keppoch, but M'Ian carried on, with as much impunity and openness as ever, the trade of cattle-lifting. Once in Glencoe it was impossible to recover the prey. Let any number of men be sent against them, his gillies guarded the narrow passes; at the preconcerted signal the cattle and people removed to the rocky fastnesses which a few men could hold against an army. The foe had nothing to wreak his vengeance upon but a few turf-built huts, as easily rebuilt as they were cast down. William and Dalrmyple set their seals to the doom of Glencoe, but not because M'Ian had failed in obtempering the letter of the law regarding the oath of allegiance—not

because the M'Ians were rebels—but because they were the last to adhere to the unmodified principles of clanship, to the idea of kingdoms within a kingdom, of the right of a private man, or a section of private men, to exercise hatred, rapine, and war, uncontrolled by the central government ;—because, though a puny tribe as to numbers, the physical character of their country made them able to keep thirty thousand men, from the dread of their excursions, with arms perpetually in their hands ; because this thwarted the plans of progress represented by the Campbells, and cherished by the king, and subjected the revolutionary government to the laughter of scorn amidst a warlike and disaffected race, by showing its threatenings could be braved with impunity, and that it was not able to afford the safety to property and life, the promise of which formed the charter of its existence. If the odium caused by the treacherous slaughter of beguiled men was so great as for a time to endanger the safety of the throne, still it was the means of making the Highlanders perceive the necessity of yielding obedience to the law, and it put an effectual stop to cattle-lifting on a grand scale. M'Ian of Glencoe was the last Katheran chief. The terrors of the law prevailed over the love of plunder, and shortly the thing, formerly considered a mark of bravery, sank into the catalogue of mean and disreputable sins. The talents of Rob Roy, the last Katheran, failed to make the profession what it was in the days of Keppoch ; and when Rob died there was no one to take up his mantle, for cattle-lifting had degenerated into common thieving. It cannot be said, therefore, the massacre of Glencoe failed in the results expected by Government. Dalrymple might plausibly

enough justify to himself the horrible cruelty of the means, by the importance of the results to the well-being of society, ten times better after the massacre than before its commission. But there was one man engaged in the affair—who, though concealed, was chief actor—that had every reason to be displeased with the result, and that was Breadalbane. He had made himself extremely active on the side of William at the conclusion of the war in 1691. The King placed £15,000 at his disposal to bring the Jacobite chiefs to reason. He held a meeting of them at Achalader, in the Braes of Glenorchy, on the 30th June, 1691. M'Ian attended this meeting, and quarrelled with the Earl about the reparation which the latter demanded from him, for having plundered his lands. M'Ian denounced the treacherous character of the Earl to the other chiefs, and was the principal cause of making the negotiations come to nothing. Further, he threatened to expose his conduct to Government, and show, that, though he was Willie's man in Edinburgh, he was Jamie's in the Highlands. The charge was well founded enough, as subsequent events show, though Breadalbane sheltered himself for the time under the permission of the King authorising him to act this double part. In addition to the new insult, the more intolerable to the Earl because he felt it was merited, the M'Ians had been, with the other M'Donald's, harrying Breadalbane when the battle of Stronclachan was fought, in which the Earl lost eighteen of his nearest kinsmen. Besides, the position of Glencoe rendered the M'Ians a perpetual thorn in his side. If he hoped for success in the complicated intrigues in which he was about to engage, for bringing about another revolution, and making him-

self what he always aspired to be, the head of the Campbells and the chief man in the North, he saw it more necessary than ever to get rid of the M'Ians. The "mauling scheme" of the Earl, to which Dalrymple alludes, without describing it, must have been the one at last substantially adopted. The time, the manner, and the agents could have been chosen only by a man intimately acquainted with Glencoe, and the nature and habits of its people, and also aware of the mortal hatred existing between the M'Ians and Campbell of Glenlyon—a man determined, moreover, that the "old fox, nor any of his cubs, should not escape"—and such a man in every particular was Breadalbane. Instead of 200, the whole male population of the Glen, but between 30 and 40 were killed. The old intriguer foresaw the storm which would arise, and dreaded it, if many of the witnesses lived. A few days after the massacre, a person waited upon Glencoe's sons, and stated, he had been sent by Campbell of Barracalden, the Earl's Chamberlain, and that he was authorised to say, that, if they would declare, under their hands, that Breadalbane had no concern in the slaughter, he would procure their remission and restitution. He escaped adroitly enough through the after proceedings, as he managed that Campbell of Glenlyon should never stand his trial. But under what mortal fear must he have made the promise of "remission and restitution" with his revenge but half-gratified, and the possession of Glencoe, which he longed to acquire, slipping for ever from his grasp? As to Glenlyon, his own contemporaries accused him not of his cruelty in the execution of inhuman orders, but of the few hours of treachery which preceded the massacre—

"For he smiled as a friend, while he planned as a foe  
To *redde*n each hearthstone in misty Glencoe."

The Glencoe bard himself does not go farther, as if conscious that had he not violated his plighted word, and murdered men under trust, Campbell had received such provocation from the M'Donalds as justified the most unlimited revenge on his part.

The Scottish Parliament met in 1695, when King William found it expedient to yield to public indignation, and a commission to examine into the affair was granted upon the 29th of April. A few days after, Captain Campbell received orders to join his regiment in Flanders. Breadalbane obtained the necessary funds—400 merks—for his outfit, from Mr. Alexander Comrie, minister of Inchadin. The other officers engaged in the massacre were already in Flanders. Campbell's evidence appears to have been peculiarly dreaded by the Earl, and had he been examined perhaps history would not be now so hard on the character of Dalrymple, and at any rate the intrigues of Breadalbane, if revealed, would have astonished William himself, and shown him that even he could be outwitted. From the anxiety of the Commissioners to screen William, their labours ended in smoke, and the M'Donalds and the country had not the revenge they wanted. The recommendation of the Parliament to order home Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsay (a relation of Glenlyon's wife), Ensign Lundy, and Sergeant Barber, the chief actors, in order to their being prosecuted according to law, was never carried into effect. Campbell probably was never made aware of the result of the Commission. He died at Bruges in West Flanders, on the 2nd day of August, 1696. I subjoin an extract from the paymaster's accounts in which his funeral expenses are given.



To the Lt. & Ensign's pay from 17 June to 11 Aug. 1696,				
being two months, at 93. 16 p. mo. ...	...	...	£187	12 0
To 400 boats from the 14 July to 11 Aug. ...	...	...	112	9 0
To the Judge Advocate for two months ...	...	...	2	4 0
To the Doctor and paym <sup>r</sup> . ...	...	...	12	0 0
To the hoboyes ...	...	...	20	8 0
To on man to the Coll. ...	...	...	14	0 0
To Gent Hospital to 11 Aug. ...	...	...	25	15 0
To Brudges Hospital ...	...	...	2	12 0
To the Capt <sup>s</sup> . Clothes in full ...	...	...	29	14 0
To laid out on the Capt <sup>s</sup> . funeral expense				
for lining and several oyr necessaryes				
taken by the Major's Lady ...	...	£131	18	0
To laid out in the house where he dyed, &				
paid before Captain Fonab ...	...	127	10	0
To laid out at Brudges, where he was				
buried, as per particular acct. ...	...	142	16	0
<hr/>				
			£402	14 0
			£402	14 0

Campbell of Glenlyon was, at his death, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His early education had been good. He was a man of polished and plausible manners, and had mixed in early life in the best society. Like other men who have left a name joined to cruel deeds, his personal appearance was extremely prepossessing. Tall, well-built, with a profusion of curling fair hair, and a face of almost feminine delicacy, he was in youth a very Adonis. Left a minor with a large but burdened property, and shut out from active pursuits by the stern rule of Cromwell, he early gave the rein to selfish pleasures, a course in which he was confirmed by the gaities which followed the Restoration. His greatest vices were gambling and the love of display, to which in later days he added an excessive love of wine. In another age he might have been a

great warrior chief ; for, though devoid of chivalrous generosity, he had all the martial talents of his warlike family ; and the man who could resolve at sixty to repair his fortune by the sword, could be reasonably expected to have been able to achieve his purpose thirty years earlier.





## VIII.

ROBERT had disposed of the extensive feus he held in Lorn to the Earl of Breadalbane about 1663. The noble property of Glenlyon fell into the hands of Lord Murray in 1684. The only part of the once large estate remaining in possession of the family at his death were the jointure lands of his wife, and the small property of Kilmorich, which had been so settled that he could not touch it. His extravagance had created many debts, which were pressing with severity upon his family. But notwithstanding the hopelessness of the attempt, the first thought of his son was, how he could recover his father's inheritance. *Iain Buidhe* (yellow-haired John) was twenty years of age when his father died in Flanders. The following letter, written immediately on receipt of the news of his father's death, explains his position and views :—

29th October, 1696.

May it please your Lordship—Being in Caithness when I heard of my father Glenlyon's death, I made all the heast I could to returne to wait upon your Lordship, to represent the case of the Earle of Tullibardine's claim upon my father's Estate. But comeing home, I understood that your Lordship was gone to London, qich oblidges me to give you this trouble, humblie begging your Lordship's protectione in that matter, to prevent the ruine of my father's familie, which the best Lawiers in the Kingdome, and particularlie my Lord Advocate, are of opinione may be yet done, if my friends owne me. In regarde that any right of the Earle of Tulliebardine has is but of the nature of a wadsett, redeimable on payment of the soume therein contained, which is farr within the treu value of the Estate. And seeing my

own uncles and cusin-germans are able and willing instantly to advance all the money that the Earle of Tullibardine pretends to, for relieving the Estate to my behoof, I humblie entreat your Lordship (seeing you are now on the place) to speak to my Lord Tullibardine in my behalf, to sie if he will accept of his money in a friendly manner without putting me and my relations to any further expenses. Which is well known we are not able to undergoe, being reduced to grate extremities by the wayes and methodes which were takine to turne us out of all we had. Qranent I earnestlie entreat your Lordship may be pleased to gett the Earle of Tullibardine's positive answer immediatly. Because the present circumstances of the affaire will not admitt of any delay. In regaird if he refuse, I most prosequitt the legall part before my minority expyre, which is now neir elapst. And besyds I may come to lose the present opportunity that offers, by my uncles and cusin-germans being willing to advance the money, whereby my father's familie may yett be preserved in the name. For they will accept of repayment from me of the prin<sup>ll</sup>. soume in such moyties as I please, and give me a perpetual reversion and present possessione of the superplus more than satisfies their current annualrents. I humbly beg your Lordship's answer, that I may be determined in time how to proceed. The beginning of the winter sessione being that there are processes then, *hinc inde*, depending. And as your Lordship's appeiring for me will doe me a grate deall of honour, so it will certainly preserve a familie who have been upon all occations servisable to your Lordship's most noble predecessors, whose futt-stapes therein I resolve to follow, and ever to conteinow.—May it please your Lordship, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

For the Earle of Breadalbane.

The answer to the foregoing earnest and humble appeal came not from the Earl but from his lawyer, Colin Campbell:

Edin<sup>r</sup>. 2. Feb. 1697.

Sir—You will see by the enclosed what returne the Earl of Tullibardine hath given to your Letter, and of David Campbell, Advocate, yranent who is very friendly. Yr. friends yen cane expect nothing but the rigour of the Law that way, ffor the Earl's Advocates are insisting in ther old process, to have the restitutione made voyd. But I judge their will nott be mucche done this sessione. If your comeing over be necessary (which I think it will nott this Sessione) I sall acquaint

you in dew tyme. My Lord Marquess Advocats are postponeing your Mother's business, with delays as much as they cane. And would faine restrict her joyntur if they cane. They have som pappers, they say, to produce, under her own hand, that will restrict her right upon Killmorich. We cane make nothing till we see you. They are to be produced to-morrow. Ther sall be noe indeavors wanting to bring it to a Decreit this Sessione.—I am, Sir, your Coussen to serve you,

C. C.

ffor the Laird of Glenlyon.

The next is from the Earl. It is quite characteristic of the man. The issue, and the person into whose possession these lands ultimately came, throw a doubt upon his professions of friendship, and make it probable that in this, as in every other act of his life, he used double-dealing. We shall hear more about the matter in another paper :—

ffinlarig, 12 Jully. 1697.

COSSEN—I have just now red yours of the tenth. I know not how it came to be soe long on the way. Coline Ramsay did last week informe at Edin<sup>r</sup>. that you were ther, and that all your desyre of recovering your esteat wood doe. I know not who made him soe wise but it oblidged me to send yesterday an expresse to Edin<sup>r</sup>. to assure them of the contrarie. The same endeavours are used wt<sup>r</sup>. you to persuade you of my remisnes, but I'll put the contrary under my hand. My sone Glenurchay is just now come here, and hes spoake to the E. of T. thoroughly of your affaire, as alsoe wt<sup>r</sup>. the E. of A. & my L. A. C. ; and qt<sup>r</sup>. hes past betwixt them oblidges me to call you & yr. friends here to-morrow morning ; In order to put an end to all thats to be done in your affaire at this time. And that from this ye may goe to Edin<sup>r</sup>. Two that effect I have written to Duneaves to advance you money, and I shall reimbruse him, and alsoe to come here wt<sup>r</sup>. you. My sone tells me, that my Lord Tulliebardine says ye agreed wt<sup>r</sup>. him at Hungtingtower, that Duneaves & the rest of the undertakers were to goe wt<sup>r</sup>. you to Edin<sup>r</sup>. to him, qch I understood not to be soe. However, I shall write for the rest to meet you here to-morrow. I wish ye wold persuade yr cossen to come provided to goe alongst wt<sup>r</sup>. you if found needfull qn we meet. In caise it be not, I shall be als unwilling that any person should goe, as they can be themselves,

if it can be done wtout them. Soe expecting you soe early as may be,  
for I had stopt my jurney for yr coming, I remain, yr affectionate  
Cossen to serve you, BREADALBANE.

ffor the Laird of Glenlyon.

The bearing of the whole question, as well as the upshot, are best learned from a lawyer's opinion obtained by Glenlyon a few years afterwards in reference to the claims of his father's creditors:—"The deceast Marquess of Athole haveing unquestionable rights to the estate of Glenlyon by expyred compreisings in his person: He enters in contract wt the deceast Robert Campbell of Glenlyon in the year 1684, whereby out of love and favour to the present Glenlyon his sone, he restricts the great sums due to his Lops. to the sum of 39,000 lib, and grants the said John Campbell of Glenlyon a Reversion for redeeming the said lands wtin the space of six years thereafter. But on this express condition, that in case the said lands were not redeemed wtin said time, then and in that case the reversion should *ipso facto* expyre and become extinct, as if the same had never been made nor granted. The Marquess paying to this Glenlyon, in the event of not redemption, ane certain sum." . . . . "Glenlyon haveing failed in useing the ordor of Redemptione wtin the limited time, the Marquess raises a proces of Declarator agt. him, for declaring the reversion granted to him, out of love and favour only, extinct and voyd; and accordingly the same was declared, and the present Duke of Athole, as haveing right from his fayr. to the lands of Glenlyon, did pay to the present Glenlyon a certain sum of money upon his granting a Discharge yrof in terms of the forsd reversion." The opinion as to Glenlyon's liability to his father's credi-



tors then follows, but is of no consequence, especially as it was not acted upon.

The next papers contain a list of the most pressing of Robert Campbell's debts at the time of his decease. There were many other and heavy debts due to friends, who gave the ruined family breathing space to recover themselves. These papers afford a good insight into the everyday life of a laird in the seventeenth century, and are interesting for the statistical clues they offer to any person delighting in such researches :—

John, Duke of Atholl, &c., sheriff principal of the sheriffdome of Perth, To mairs, conjunctly & severally, speciallie constitute, Greeting. Forasmuch as It is humbly meaned and shown to us By Master David Ramsay of Lethendie, executor after mentioned, That where umple. Robert Campbell of Glenlyon as principal, and John Campbell younger of Glenorchie as Cautioner, by their bond, subscribed he them of the date the fyth and seventh dayes of June, 1661 years band and oblidge them, conjunctly and severallie, their heirs &c, to have contented and paid to John Ewing, merchant in London, the sum of fourteen pound thertteen shillings three pennies sterling money principal, and at and again the first day of Jully then next, with twentie shillings money foresaid of liquidate expences, in caice of failzie ; and annualrents after the said dyet of payment dureing the not payment thereof as the said bond in itself more fullie bears. In and To the which bond, sums of money, principal annualrents, and expences adwriten, the said John Ewing, by his assignation, dated the 11th of October, anno foresaid, made & constitute James Nickoll, writer in Edinburgh, his cossioner & assigney : Likeas, the said James Nickoll, by his translation, subd be him of the date the twelveth day of March, 1685, Transferred and disponded his haill right yrof In favour of John Melvill, younger, merchant in Edinburgh : And Sicklike, he by his Disposition, dated the 24th March, 1688 years, conveyed his haill right to the premises in favours of the said Mr. David Ramsay, complainer. As Also, the said umq<sup>l</sup> Robert Campbell, by his other bond, subscribed by him of the date the fyfth day of March, 1669 years, band and oblidge him, his heirs, &c. to have contented & payed to Mr. Archibald Campbell,

writer at Edinburgh, the sum of fourscore pounds Scots money principal, at and again Lambas then next, with sixteen pounds of liquidat expences in caice of failzie, and adrent after the date of the said bond, during the not payt as the sd bond in itself proposes : In and To the which bond, and sums yrin contained, the said Mr. Archibald Campbell, by his letters of assignation, of the date the tenth of September, 1679, made and constitute John Campbell, writter to the Signet, his cossioner & assigney : Likeas, the said John Campbell, by his translation, subscribed by him of the date the fyft of June, 1682 years, transferred and disponed his haill right qrof in favours of James Nickoll, merchant in Edinr. together with all letters and diligence, raised by him yrupon : And Likeways, the said James Nickoll, by his right and disposition, subed be him of the date the twelveth of March 1685, sold, assigned and disposed the foresd bond last narrated, and haill conveyances thereof, in favours of the said John Melvil, yor merchant in Edinburgh : And Sicklike, the said John Melvil by his right & disposition, subscribed be him of the date the twenty-four of December, 1688, assigned and disponed in favours of the sd Mr. David Ramsay, complainer, the foresd last narrated bond assignation. Translation and Disposition, with all that had or might follow yrupon, as the saids haill writts of the respective dates abovewritten, herewith produced, in ymselves at more length is contained : ffor payment and satisfaction of the which sums of money, prin<sup>l</sup>, adrents, and expences adwritten, contained in the foresds bonds, the said Mr. David Ramsay, as haveing right in manner adwritten, Did, upon the twenty-two day of December, 1696 years, confirm himself executor-dative *qua* creditor to the said umq<sup>le</sup> Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, before the Commissar of Dunkeld, and particularly to the moveable goods & gear of the sd defunct contained in the Confirmed Testament, and particularly aftermend :—Towitt, five old plugh horses, all estmat over head to fiftie pound ; Item, eleven great cows with their calves, estimat to twelve pound per piece—Inde, ane hundred and thretty two pound ; Item, five three-year-old cows at eight pound the piece—Inde, fourty pound ; Item, three two-year-old cows at five pound the piece—Inde-fifteen pound ; Item, three ane-year-old stirks at four pound the piece—Inde, twelve pound ; Item thretty-six head of sheep at two marks and ane half the piece—Inde, fiftie pound ; Item, nine ane-year old hogs at twenty shillings the piece—Inde, nine pound ; Item, twentie-eight lambs at ten shillings the piece—Inde, fourteen pound ;

Item, eight bolls of white oats, sown crop 1696 years, estimat to the third corn—Inde, twentie-four bolls at four pound the boll—Inde, ninetie six pound ; Item, twelve bolls of gray oats, sown crop foresaid, estimat to the third corn—Inde, thretty-six bolls at two pound the boll—Inde, seventie-two pound ; Item, of Rye five bolls, sown estimat to the third corn—Inde, fifeteen bolls at five pound the boll—Inde, sixty-five pound ; Item, three pecks Rye, sown at the third corn, is nine pecks at half ane mark the peck—Inde, three pound ; Item, ane duzon of old silver spoons at five pound the piece—Inde, sixty pound ; Item, ane silver quaich wt two lugs, estimat to three pound ; Item, ane silver cup, wt silver cover, estimat to thretty-six pound ; Item, ane little silver dish, estimat to three pound ; Item, three brass candlesticks, all estimat to eight pound ; Item, eleven old pewter plaits, qrof six large one, estimat to thretty-six shillings the piece, & the other five less ones to twenty shillings the piece—Inde, fifeteen pound sixteen shillings ; Item, ane duzon of old pewter trenchers, estimat to eight shillings—Inde, four pound sixteen shillings ; Item, ane broken pewter quart stoup, ane pint stoup, ane chopin & ane muskin stoup, all of pewter, all estimat to four pound ; Item, two brass pans, ane 48s. and the other 12s.—Inde, three pound ; Item, ane old kettle, con, about ten gallons, estimat to 24 lib. ; Item, ane mashing vatt, estimat to four pound ; Item, ane wort stand, worth half ane crown, ane pound 10s ; Item, three iron pots, qrof two containing a gallon the piece & the other six pints—Inde, five pound ; Item, three barrells, qrof two of four gallons the piece, & the oyr ane gallon, ane lead gallon, awori dish and a two-handed tub, all estimat to three pound ; Item, three stands, estimat to four pound 10s ; Item, two washing-tubs worth two pound ; Item, four meathers, three chopin cogs, two timber plaits, a timber ladle, and cheeser and ane \* \* dish all estimat to sixteen shillings ; Item, two butter cans, worth 5s the piece ; Item, ane speit and ane pair of raxes, worth six pound ; Item, ane crook, and ane pair of tongs, and a brander, all estimat to 2 lib. ; Item, ane old girdle, worth 12s. ; Item, ane meal firloft, ane peck, & ane lippy, all worth ane pound ; Item, the plough, wt the plough graith and irons yrt belonging, and horses graith, all worth three pound ; Item, of bedsteads wthin the house of Chestill, four all furnished wt curtains, feather beds, & blanquets & sheets, all estimat to ane hundred pound ; Item, of box beds, three wt sheets and blanquets, estimat to 20 lib. ; Item, two stand of hangers, ane qrof stript, the oyr plain estimat to 20 libs ;

Item, ane table in the hall worth \* \* \*, a carpet cloath, worth twenty pound ; Item, ane old skringe, yr worth ane pound 10s. ; Item, ane old pair of virginals, twelve pound ; Item, of the tables throw the house, four worth four pound ; Item, ane old knock, worth ten pound ; Item, ane old meal girnell, estimat to eight pound ; Item, three little chists, worth three pound ; Item, ane ambrie, worth 3 lib. ; Item, ten old rustic leather chairs, estimat to 10 lib. ; Item, of other chairs throw the house, six estimat to seven pound ; Item, three trunks, three timber chists, and two bigger chists worth 20 lib. ; Item, ane large looking-glass, estimatt to five pound ; Item, ane old large Bible, estimat to four pound ; Item, three duzon of dornuck servets, some of ym old, and three table-cloathes and two hand towels, all estimat to twenty pound ; Item, three \* \* \* \* of pewter, worth ane pound 16s. ; Item, ane glass case, with eight glasses, estimat to 5 lib. 6s. 8d. ; Item, ane pistoll and ane morter of copper, worth four pound ; Item, ane smoothing iron worth 20s. ; As in the said testament at more length is cond<sup>d</sup> : And true it is and of veritie (that Helen Lindsay) relict spouse to the said deceast Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, hath intromitted with, used, and disposed upon the goods, gear, and others particularly abovementained contained in the sd confirned Testament, and als that she is \* \* Intromissatrix yrwith, and with the other moveable goods and gear that belonged to her sd umq<sup>le</sup> husband or at least doth oyrwise passive represent him, and therefore of all law, equitie, and reason, she the sd Helen Lindsay ought & should be decerned and ordained be decreit of Court, order of law & justice either to make pay<sup>t</sup> and satisfaction to the said Mr. David Ramsay, complr, of the sums of money, princ<sup>l</sup>l adrents, & expences due to him, for himself, and as assigney foresd, by the sd deceast Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, conform to the severall bonds admend or at least to make forthcoming and deliverie to the sd complr the goods, gear, and oyt's particularly abovementioned, which belonged to the said defunct, and were intromitted wt by her as said is, and grunto the said complainer hath right as exer foresd, or else to satisfie and pay the complainer the avails and prices yrof above sett down—Yefore, &c.



## IX.

**A**T Dunkeld, the nynteen day of November Jm VI and nyntie sex yeirs, In presence of John Stewart of Ladywell, Comrie of Dunkeld, Sittand in Judgement Anent the lybelled, as howe persued at the Instance of Helen Lindsay, relict of the deceast Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, persuer, Summonding, Warning, and Chargeing, the persuers defenders undermend personallie or at there dwelling house ; To witt, John Campbell, lawll sone to the defunct Alexander Campbell of Ardeonack, John Stewart of Cammoch in special ; And all others having or pretending to have Intrest generallie, at the mercat cross of Dunkeld, To have comeired before the sd comrie, and named the day and dait of thir presents, to have heard and gein the debts & oysrs. underwritn resting be the sd deceast Robert Campbell to the sd Helen Lindsay, perssuer, for herself and as haveing right in maner underwritn to be found Justly adebted to her ; and that she ought to be decerned excrix Creditrix to the goods aftermentiond for payt. of the samen : They are to say, Mr. William Foord, sometyme school-master at Chestill (afterwards at Dunkeld), for ane yeir and ane quarter, the soume ffourscore three pundis sex shilling eight pennies : Item, to Mr. John Andersone, sometyme school master yr. the soume of ane hundreth pundis Scots money ; Item, to Sibella Ayssome, for sex years and ane halfs for hire, The soume of ane hundred and seventeen pundis, being eighteen pundis yearly ; Item, to John McGilliochrist, hyre man, the soume of twenty nyne pundis sex shillings eight pennies of fie and bounties for two yeirs ; Item, to Patrick Thomsone, hyre man, twenty merks yearly for two yeirs—Inde, twenty sex pundis threttein shillings four pennies ; Item, to John Mcewin, Clerich, of by gone fies, The soume of twentie pundis ; Item, to Donald Ban McCallum, also servitor, the souns of threttein pundis sex shilling eight pennies for ane yeir's fie & bounty ; Item, to Christian M'Nab, late servitrix, of fie & bounty fyve merks ; Item, to Donald Clerich, of fie, four pundis ; Item, to Donald M'Kissick, for ane yeir and ane half's fie, thretty pundis ; Item, to Patrick M'Ewin, of fie, for ane yeir,



the soume of nyne pundis ; Item, to Mr. Neill Stewart, schoolmaster, att Fortingall, preceeding Mertymes Jm. VI & nyntie sex, twelve pundis ; Item, to John Mccewin, servitor to the Lady Glenlyone, seven pundis sex shillings eight pennies, for ane yeir's fie ; Item, to John McIlline, herd of by gone fies, the soume of twenty two pundis threttein shillings four pennies ; Item, to Robert Mccewin, servitor, the soume of seven pundis sex shillings eight pennies for ane yeir's fie ; Cathrine McNaughtone, present servitrix, twenty pundis for fie & bounty att Mertymes ; Item, to Mary Roy, present servitrix, on pund sex shilling eight pennies ; Item, to Donald Reoch, footman, four pundis yearly fie, fyve yeir's fie, extending to twentie pundis ; Item, the soume of four hundreth & fyfty pundis for mantinance of ye family, from the first of August, 1696, to Mertymes nyntie sex, extending in the heall to the sonne of nyne hundreth and forty pundis, *salvo Justo calculo* ; or else to have compeired and shown ane reasonable cause why the sds soumes ought not to be found and declaired to be resting to the sd persuer by the sd defunct, . . . . &c., &c. Therefore the Judge decerned, declaired, and ordained, and decerns, declaires, and ordains, in maner adwritten ; whereupon Patrick Robertson, as procurator and in the name of the sd persuer, asked and took act of court ; Extractum per me, Jo. MILLER.

Robert Campbell left a family of four daughters and three sons. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth was married to Alexander Campbell of Ardeonaig, and had issue. The second, Janet, was first married to Robert Campbell of Boreland ; and their great-grandson, afterwards first Marquess, succeeded in 1782 to the Earldom of Breadalbane on the failure of "Pale John's" issue in the third generation ; she was married, secondly, to Ewen Cameron, Boreland. The other two died unmarried. Of the sons, John succeeded to the empty title of Laird of Glenlyon ; Robert was a lieutenant in Lord Carmichael's regiment of dragoons ; and Alexander died early. Elizabeth and Janet received 2000 merks of tocher, a portion of 1200 merks the piece was given several years after their father's decease to



each of the rest, out of the proceeds of the jointure lands in Glenlyon, which were sold about 1700 to Menzies of Culdares, but which did not come into his possession until 1729. Jean Campbell, the much married mother of Robert of Glenlyon, on the death of her third husband, returned to Chesthill. When she died, the three Lairds, her sons, assembled their men to the funeral. The time intervening between the death and burial was taken up in the exercise of such games as Æneas might have instituted in honour of his father's death, and which Virgil would have with delight described in sounding heroics. In the race, sword-exercise, fencing, wrestling, tossing the caber, throwing the hammer, &c., the Glenlyon men acquitted themselves with honour; in the putting-stone they and the Stewarts were put to the blush by one of the M'Gregors, who pitching the stone through the fork of a high tree, made a better cast than any of them was able to do without such an impediment. Robert, anxious for the honour of the Glen men, sent off in the night for one of his shepherds, called Robert M'Arthur, who was famous for athletic feats. After walking fifteen miles at the chieftain's behest, the rest of the night or morning was spent by M'Arthur and the Laird trying the cast of the M'Gregor. On the renewal of the game, M'Gregor having cast the stone as before, challenged any present to do the like. M'Arthur taking it up carelessly and without even putting off his plaid, threw the stone in the same way as M'Gregor, and it fell several feet beyond the mark. Robert was so overjoyed at the result, as to give the gillies a double allowance of whisky, and the mirth waxed so fast and furious, that the purpose of their meeting was nearly for-

gotten, and the interment allowed to lie over for another day.

Laird John having but the little property of Kilmorich, burdened too with his father's debts, and bound to keep up the honour of an old family, was, during many years, never out of difficulties. He set himself resolutely to become free of debt ; in effecting his purpose his whole life was nearly spent, but he saw it done. The first duke of Athole, though, as mentioned before, he resisted the claim to the redemption of Glenlyon on the payment of a very moderate sum, became a true and kind friend. In 1710 the Duke excambed with Glenlyon the estate of Fortingall, or as now called, Glenlyon House, for Kilmorich. The Duke allowed himself clearly to have the worst of the bargain. Lord Glenorchy, son of Earl Breadalbane, was a real friend, and lent him money on easy terms. Breadalbane, to remove the coldness resulting from his conduct in the loss of Glenlyon, likewise bestirred himself to a certain extent, without paying up old accounts, however. He interfered between Glenlyon and Colin, his own nephew, and made the latter, and his curator, Lochnell, settle with the former on easy terms. "Pale John" never had an objection to gain a name for liberality at other people's expense. Lochnell's answer to the Earl's request, is as follows :—

MY LORD—I received your Lop.'s letter, the 30th Jully, concerning Glenlyon's afaire with your nephew Coline, who in obedience to your Lop.'s commands brought home the whole papers relative to yt afaire ; and I'm afraid yt ye have wronged your nephew in soe doing, unlesse your Lop. see the afaire now ended in a friendly manner ; for it may oblige Coline's doers not to be soe forward for him as they were ; who in law would have done his busines if your Lop. had not interfered

As for the two points your Lop. mentions in your letter—viz. the adrents and expenses—I wish Glenlyon verie well, yett in justice I could not but decerne him the whole expence, yt he oblidge Coline to lay out in pursuing yt afaire in law ; and as for the adrents, I could not make it lesse yn qt was condescended to by boath parties in your Lop.'s presence ; and the more that the summe condescended upon doeth not exceed the fourth part of the adrent dew in law. As for the cautioners I know nothing about ym, but that I think your Lop. should not allow your nephew to accept of any but sufficient caurs. ; and what prejudice may be in Duneaves or his Broyrs being cautioners your Lop. knows best, but if Coline gett oyr sufficient cautioners at your Lop.'s sight, that will please him. I take it to be the same upon the matter.

As for that expedient your Lop. proposes anent Airds, I do not disapprove of the overture, if made effectual by the condescendance of all the parties concerned ; but seeing I am not in the cuntrie to treat with Airds upon the head, I referre to your Lop. with concent of your Nephew, to doe in it as ye think most expedient. If your Lop. were at Castell Kilechurne, and all parties concerned pnt. I doe not doubt but yt your Lop. would see yt afaire concluded to the satisfacione of the wholl parties concerned, but I cane not see thorrowe howe it may be done in heast, the leaving at sich ane distance from one ane oyr, and in the meantyme it putts ane stope to your Nephew's afaire, qeh is not his interest.

To conclude, all that I have to say upon the matter is, that your Lop. see Glenlyone and your Nephew settled in a friendly manner, conforme to artickles condescended to by ym boath in your Lop.'s presence ; oyrways yt ye allowe your Nephew seue Glenlyone in law, as formerly ; and if that beis the event, as I hope not, ye have done your Nephew noe favour. And more, I'me obliged to give your Lop. the trouble in minding you to doe justice to your Nephew anent his moyr's tocher, oyrways yt ye command him discharge you being yt it lyes in the hands of none to doe him justice in that matter but your Lop. ; and though his heart faills him to seue your Lop. in law for it, ye know very well he would come speed if he did it ; and if your Lop. would but consider the circumstancs of your Nephew, and of his three portionless brethren, it would be motive enough to oblige your Lop. to do him justice. And I may freely say, that hitherto I did bear their wholl burdine ; and now when they are come to be men, the least that

could be expected is. that your Lop. would do ym justice, they having the honour to be so nearly interested in your Lop. not asse now, but now and always continue, my Lord, your Lop.'s Cussine and humble Servant,

Mingarie, July 30, 1711.

J. CA. of Lochinell.

A little after the date of the foregoing letter, a circumstance occurred, which, for a time, interrupted the good feeling between Glenlyon and the family of Breadalbane. At the death of *Red Duncan*, Robert Campbell's grandfather, the latter being but a child, Sir Robert of Glenorchy was one of his curators, and under the pretext of taking better care of it, removed the Clach-Buadha (stone of victory) from Meggernie to Finlarig. It remained with the family of Breadalbane during Robert's lifetime, who was sceptical of its virtues or too easy-minded to make the least effort to regain it. When the excambion with the Duke of Athole was completed, his mother exhorted Laird John to reclaim the stone, as if its possession was more calculated to insure him and his race the enjoyment of the new property than any legal rights and documents whatever. The misfortunes of Robert, and the success of Breadalbane, afforded proof positive of the inestimable value of the wonderful stone. Glenlyon therefore demanded its restoration, and the wily politician and hoary intriguer exhibited his superstitious weakness by giving him a counterfeit. The Glenlyon family having put it to the test, by immersion in water, immediately discovered the fraud. The attempt at imposition roused the Laird to fury, and he at once galloped back to Taymouth, poured out all the vials of his wrath upon the head of the Earl, and wound up a torrent of vituperation with the threat of laying Taymouth

Castle in ashes, should not the true stone be restored on the spot. Earl John was old, and in his last days no warrior; his own followers, he was aware, would not support him in such barefaced injustice, and not being ready for battle, as a demand couched in such language admitted of no other reply, the stone was given up. Glenlyon, it is said, prospered ever after; but be that as it may, at the time it put him into a pretty difficulty with Lord Glenorchy, about the money he owed him. The copy of Glenlyon's answer to Glenorchy, without a date, given below, has a very different tone from the humble requisition to the Earl in 1696:—

My Lord—I got your Lop.'s letter from Taymouth last day anent the money I am owing to you by bond, q<sup>ch</sup> should indeed have been paid at Mert. last. I would pay it then without any scruple, had I been discreetlie dealt with. But being treated lyke banckrab by registering my bond and giving a charge of horning, some weeks before the sd term, I thought fitt to employ my money oyrways. And I depend upon some yeir's adrents of an eight hundred merks bond, that your father owes me for the Translation of the Feues my father had in Lorne for your Lop.'s payment. For the principal I suppose it will be inteir after your Lop.'s payed. As for Ardeonaick's busines, it's as much to yor own prejudice to delay it as it is to mine; qrfor I think its both yor Lop.'s and father's interest to press it, so long as all parties concerned are living, more than myne. Meintyme your Lop. should desyre the Earle to clear my adrents and so shoon as that is done I shall pay your Lop.—&c. &c.

The Highlanders mortally hated William and Mary. The songs and satires of the celebrated bard, John M'Donald or *Iain Lom*, in which the ingratitude of William and undutifulness of Mary are portrayed in the darkest colours, spread the unfavourable impression among the very men who had fought in their cause. Fidelity in friendship and

affectionate submission to the authority of parents, are undoubtedly stronger principles in a primitive community than among the more civilized ; for in the absence of the strong coercion of artificial laws, the obligations and ties founded on the general law of nature must necessarily exert an active power over the intercourse of men, else they can no longer exist, individually or corporately. Parental authority, by the peculiar institution of clanship, is placed above all other obligations, and hence King William would have been more acceptable to the Highlanders had he been a Khan of the Tartars instead of Prince of Orange, or a daring usurper like Cromwell instead of nephew and son-in-law of the late King. Harvests remarkably unfruitful, a blasting east wind that shrivelled up the produce of the ground, rendered many years of his reign a time of continual dearth. The Highlanders' rude ideas of retributive justice associated the visitation of providence with the crimes and government of the King ; they believed the sins of the ruler were visited upon his subjects, and that through the dearth the revenge of heaven fell upon them for tamely submitting to the oppressor of their native prince. But the massacre of Glencoe no less deterred from rebellion that it provoked indignation ; and the Highlands after that event remained quietly but anxiously awaiting for William's death as the only escape from misery. In connection with that event, an anecdote which I have heard may be given in proof of what has been said. On the 8th March, 1702, a widow woman in Camusvrachdan, in Glenlyon, astonished her neighbours by the news of the King's death. She had no visible means of information, was far from being suspected of witchcraft, and still she asserted the truth of what



she said with wonderful pertinacity. On being pressed for her reason, she replied, "My cow gave me twice the milk I ever had from her at any time for the last seven years." By subsequent information it was discovered William had died on the precise day.





X.

THE estate of Glenlyon did not long remain in possession of the Athole family. The Marquess during the short time he had it, projected, and partly completed, several improvements. He repaired the roads, built bridges, and commenced working the lead mine called "*Meall-luaidhe*," on the hill of Kerrumore, an undertaking that would probably be now highly remunerative, but which failed then on account of the difficulty of carriage. He, moreover, gets credit traditionally for having been the first to introduce the larch tree to Glenlyon ; but in this matter tradition errs. It was Crouner Menzies' grandson who first brought larches from the Tyrol. The larches behind the garden of Meggernie, were the first planted in Scotland.

After being held by the Marquess for seven years, he sold the estate to Colonel James Menzies of Culdares, better known by the name of "*Crunnair Ruadh nan cearc*," i.e. "Crouner Roy of the Hens." The history of this man is very curious, but the hearsay version may not be very accurate. The dramatic cast given it by tradition may be an embellishment of the truth ; but, unluckily, having no means of testing the matter, I can merely give as I find.

About the year 1620, a boy, known by the name of James Roy of the Hens, was to be found among the hangers-on of the Knight of Weem, the chief of the Menzieses. He

was an orphan, and claimed some distant cousinship with the family of Menzies. The chief, pitying the poor orphan, extended to him his patronage and protection, and made free to him the hospitality of his kitchen. The boy's ostensible duty was, to look after the poultry, from which he acquired his cognomen "of the Hens." But everybody was the boy's master, and for each little delinquency the butler deprived him of his dinner. In such a straight, the lad usually made his moan to a comfortable childless couple who kept the neighbouring "tigh-osda," or public. There he was always welcome, his wants supplied, and his hardship sympathised with. Meantime he was growing up such a sharp, intelligent, comely lad, as to give occasion to his kind protectress, the hostess of the inn, to remark, "Many a pretty man would like to have James Roy for his son."

The era of which we are speaking was fraught with great events which immediately concerned the welfare of Germany but prospectively the universal freedom of mind. From the day that Luther ended his memorable defence before the Emperor Charles and his nobles at Worms with the words, "Unless I shall be convinced by the words of the Bible, or by open, clear, and convincing reasoning, I neither can nor will recant ; for it is neither safe nor advisable to do anything against one's conscience. Here I stand : I cannot act otherwise ; may God help me, Amen," the two parties of Catholic and Protestant stood out openly and professedly each other's foes. The defensive alliance entered into by the Protestant Princes at Schmalkalden in 1531, as long as the confederates remained true to their religion and one another, stemmed the combined attack of the Pope and the Emperor.

The chronic struggle, calmed for the time by the pacification of Passau (1552), which secured to the Protestants liberty of conscience, broke out anew with double fierceness, when, fifty years afterwards, the Catholics, with the unworthy help, it must be owned, of the Lutherans, attempted to shut out the Calvinists from the benefits of the Concordat. Matters reached their height at the death of Mathias, 1619. The Bohemians, who had in vain protested against the election of Ferdinand, broke into open revolt, and chose Frederick, Elector Palatine, for their King. He was a Protestant and a Calvinist. James I. of England, his father-in-law, did not give the expected aid, but the British people burned to rush to the rescue, and were ready to risk every hazard for their German brethren in the faith, and their leader, the husband of the Princess Elizabeth. The banner of Protestantism, struck from the hand of Frederick on the battle field of Prague, and reared anew by Christian IV. of Denmark, was grasped at length by the heroic Gustavus Adolphus, and borne in unintermitted triumph, until it finally fluttered above his body on the plain of Leutzen. Gustavus fell amidst his triumphs, but his spirit survived in his Swedish Generals, and the peace of Munster confirmed to the Protestants of the Lutheran and Reformed churches an equality of civil and religious rights and privileges with their Catholic fellow-subjects of the empire.

While the recovery of the Palatinate formed for James the subject of endless intrigues and negotiations, at the same time anxiously evading the necessity of war with Austria or Spain, his subjects, both English and Scotch—the latter especially—sent numberless volunteers into the ranks of the Protestant League of Germany. Many were

induced to go from motives of religious duty and predilections, and their love of civil liberty ; but the great majority were young men allured by the love of fame and adventure, for which Britain afforded no field since the union of the crowns. Of the latter class of adventurous restless spirits was our hero, James Roy. When or how he found his way to Germany nobody knows, and what were his fortunes there are almost equally obscure. Some years of absence, during which nothing was heard of him, made his name forgotten by all who formerly knew him, except the innkeeper of Weem and his wife. When war with King Charles broke out in 1639, the Scottish officers serving abroad were invited home by the Tables. Among the rest James Roy returned. His gallantry and talents had, it appeared, raised him from the ranks in the service of Sweden ; and Leslie, his old commander, was now his general also.

After the pacification of that year the Scottish forces were for a short time disbanded. During this period, a gentleman on horseback arrived late in the day at the small inn of Weem. His dress and arms were strange to the inhabitants, who seldom saw anything but Highland lairds riding about in those days, and they, when they came had always their "tail on," and left no one in doubt as to name, station, and business. The stranger, without satisfying inquiries, saw his horse stabled and entered the house. He seemed struck at the appearance of his host, and asked what had become of such a person, naming his predecessor in the public. His host, astonished to find the seeming foreigner acquainted with the inhabitants of Weem, told him reverses had come upon the old couple, and that

they had been obliged to give up the inn some years before, and were now living in a hut, which he pointed out, very poor and helpless. The stranger muttered an exclamation, and without saying more walked to the hut in question. The old couple were making ready their supper, which consisted of "cauld kail made hot again," and a piece of bread, when they were suddenly disturbed by a loud rap at the door. The wife opened it, and the strange gentleman entering without farther ado, asked in good Gaelic, could they give him bed and supper for the night? Much wondering who he was, both replied in a breath they were sorry they could not, they were too poor to have anything suitable for a gentleman like him. "Never mind appearance," says he, striking imperiously with his riding whip the table on which their poor supper was placed: "I have supped off *that* ere now, and I shall do so to-night. You fed me in my need, and let it be my care to feed, support and honour you in poverty and age. I am James Roy of the Hens—bid we welcome." He was as good as his word, and treated them like father and mother as long as they lived.

Roy fought with great gallantry throughout the whole civil war. While serving in Ireland, he had a romantic intrigue with an Irish lady endowed with the second sight, and a knowledge of magic, arts in which she is said to have also indoctrinated her lover. James Roy, however, for all her gifts, abandoned his Irish lady-love, and when she followed him afterwards to Scotland with their infant son, he refused to see her, and she and the child returned to Ireland. This was about 1646, and the cause of his treachery may be found in his being at the time matrimoni-



ally contracted to Sophia, daughter of the Baronet of Glenorchy and an aunt of "Pale John." The Irish lady's curse followed their nuptials. When the bridal feasting and rejoicings were going on at Finlarig, a hasty messenger announced to the Campbells that four hundred of the Lochaber men had broken in upon Glendochart, and were now driving the *creach* over Stronchlachane, the hill above Killin. Flushed with wine, the Campbells insisted upon being led against the foe. The bridegroom, who saw the Catherans' advantages of position, as having sun, wind, and ground in their favour, remonstrated against an immediate attack, and proposed a plan by which the robbers could be taken at unawares, and the *creach* safely recovered. One of the Campbells, for this prudent advice, retorted upon Menzies with the charge of cowardice, calling him the "Meinarach Bog," *i.e.* soft Menzies. The soldier of Gustavus, who owed all to his sword, was not the man—in presence of his high-born bride and new kinsmen, who were ready to find every fault with him on account of plebeian birth—for a moment to bear patiently such an affront. "Each man's blood be on his own head," says he; "charge the foe in God's name; we shall see before night who is *soft* and who is not." In the murderous affray which followed, Menzies attacked hand-to-hand the leader of the Lochaber men, and slew him, while taunting him with his nickname of the "Hens." The head of the Lochaber man was cut off with such quickness and dexterity, that it is said, as it rolled down the hillside separated from the body, the tongue for some seconds continued to articulate "Cearc, Cearc." As foreseen by Menzies, the day went against the Campbells, great numbers were slain, and no fewer than eighteen youths of

gentle blood, in the nearest degrees of kindred to the house of Breadalbane, were buried at Finlarig next day. Menzies, who performed that day feats of the greatest personal prowess, when matters became desperate rallied the discomfited and broken Campbells, and retreated in firm order. The Lochaber men pursued them to the very gates of Finlarig Castle. Menzies, who was in armour of proof, received nine arrows in his back during the retreat, one when entering the gate.

On the return of the Covenanting army from England, January, 1647, the Marquess of Huntly and Sir Alexander M'Donald were at the head of some Highland and Irish forces for King Charles in the north. General David Leslie took the castles belonging to the Marquess, ravaged his estates, and pursued himself into Lochaber, but failed to capture him. The Marquess was finally taken by our hero, now a Lieutenant-Colonel, in Strathdon, December, 1647. History says he was taken in the house at Dalnabo when going to bed, but this is the version of tradition. After several vain attempts both by Leslie and Middleton, Menzies was sent in pursuit. His men searched the house at Dalnabo, and discovered no trace of the Marquess. Col. Menzies, without troubling himself about the search, stood with his horse against a peat stack, near the house. When his men gave up the search, "It is cold," says he; "set the peat stack on fire; we shall have a Christmas blaze." On this, the Marquess, who was hidden in the stack, came out and was made prisoner. The wizard lore Menzies learned in Ireland was supposed to have helped the discovery. A reward of £1,000 sterling had been promised to any one capturing Huntly, and Lieutenant-Colonel

James Menzies had an order to that amount on the Scotch exchequer, granted by the Committee of Estates. The spoil of the Gordons falling to his share was also very considerable.

After the battle of Dunbar, Charles II.—the King of the Scots, as he was then called—endeavoured to shake himself free of Argyle and the Covenanters, and to form a royal party—a party devoted blindly to hereditary right, and passive obedience—a party hating, as he himself hated, the Solemn League and Covenant. For this purpose he entered into negotiations with the Highland chiefs, Huntly, Moray, and Athole being the foremost. These noblemen were to assemble their men, and the King was to escape from Perth when he heard they were ready, and join them in the mountains. By the information, it is said, of Buckingham, Argyle was put on his guard, and the Athole men, much to their surprise, found the Fords of Lyon strongly guarded by the Campbells under the command of our hero Menzies and his brother-in-law, John Campbell, younger of Glenorchy. By some cast of clever diplomacy, of which Campbell and Menzies were both masters the Earl of Athole and his brother were lured across the Lyon, and then snugly shut up in durance vile in Menzies's castle of Comrie. The Athole men, attacked in Glengowlandie without their leaders, dispersed. The King had simultaneously escaped from Perth, but was taken at Clova, and brought back by Montgomery. The incident is known by the name of "The Start." An act of indemnity was passed in favour of the Athole men for their share in the matter on the 12th of October, 1650, and the word *rebellion*, at the request of the Earl, was expunged from the pardon, and a more favourable term substituted.

Colonel Menzies had an eye always to the main chance, but was generous to his friends and relatives. About 1650 he is found possessing the property of Culdares, called also "Moncrieff's Land," in the dale of Fortingall. Bold and enterprising, he matched in prudence, if not in duplicity, his brother-in-law, Breadalbane. When the King "came to his own again," the covenanting officer quietly made the best of affairs, set himself to acquire property, increased his capital by lending money out at an exorbitant rate of interest, and never afterwards took any active part in the politics of the period. He wished to buy the property of Glenlyon when Robert Campbell got so entangled in debt as to be unable to keep it longer. Robert's jealousy of Breadalbane precipitated matters; and the Earl, who wished Glenlyon to fall to the Crowner, was for the time fairly baffled. From the following letter it would appear Menzies himself was one of Robert's debtors:—

Edr. 13th Febby, 1680.

Sir—I wrote laillie wt Jon M'Nab showing you how I stood wt Sir Patrick Thriepland, who is pntly in town waiting for that moey that I am cautione for you to him; and seeing that I am upon penaltie to pay him before I leave the town, therefore I again entreat you to send it heir wt all speed; and I shall see it delyvered and get up your bond and a discharge of that soume. So expecting to hear from you, imdatly that this comes to your hand, I refer the news to the E. of Caithnes' letters, who has written to you I understand.—Yor very humble srt.

JA. MENZAS.

After a few years' possession of it by the Athole family, the estate of Glenlyon was again in the market. Duncan Campbell of Duncaves, a near relative of the late Glenlyon, wished to obtain it, and entered into terms with Athole for that purpose. Colonel Menzies was his next neighbour,

and when Duncaves told him the sum offered by him to Athole, "Ah," said he, "he is cheating you. Let me go to Blair in your place, and I will finish the bargain on easier terms." Menzies did go, and bought the property for himself. Duncaves, suspecting treachery when too late, went to Blair after Menzies. The Marquess was so enraged at the treachery displayed in the transaction, that he compelled Menzies, under threats of corporal punishment, to dispose to Duncaves on the spot his original estate of Culdares. How much of this is true, how much is false, I cannot say—there is no authority but tradition.

From the same respectable authority—tradition, namely—it would appear the Crowner had his full revenge. Menzies' eldest daughter was married to the Laird of Balleid ; the second daughter, Agnes, to Stewart of Cardney. —He had no sons. The eldest daughter had only one child a daughter, who was brought up by the Crowner, her grandfather, and declared heiress to all his property. This lady was sought in marriage by Lord James Murray of Garth, son of the Marquess of Athole. The Crowner offered no opposition, and the day of betrothal was fixed. As for the girl, her feelings were not in the first instance consulted ; but when her grandfather found, to his great surprise, she had already given her maiden heart to a squire of low degree, he gave up his own plans for the sake of making her happy. The happy man was Captain Archibald Menzies, the Crowner's own nephew, a brave and generous youth, but quite penniless, and dependent for everything on his uncle's kindness. The astute and rather unscrupulous Crowner had strange corners for soft feelings in his soldier heart, and unknown to the noble wooer, unknown

even to the girl's father, he readily gave in to the love romance of the youthful pair, and abetted and directed their schemes. Without any suspicion, the Marquess and his son came to the betrothal on the destined day. The hospitable board was spread, and the Crowner's welcome was worthy of his guests. But at the end of the repast, when the destined bride was expected, in her place enters a servant bearing a letter addressed to the Crowner. The latter reads, starts up, and exclaims to the astonishment of the company, "The bird has fled! We are all cheated, my lord! Here's my grand-daughter's letter, begging to announce she loved my nephew better than your noble son and has fled with him—fled with him, she says, for he sits on a pillion behind her. Well, the girl is self-willed, and has always had her own way. Lord James you are happy in having escaped riding behind her." Lord James was not disposed to swallow his mortification, and would have had recourse to violent measures, but he saw there was no use. His father on the other hand, who had before matched his wit against the Crowner's and had been befooled more than once, treated the matter as a practical joke, and quaffed a cup to the happiness of the runaways, and the continued success of his host's intriguing schemes.

The Crowner died, when very old, at Comrie, about the year 1695. Captain Archibald and his grand-daughter succeeded to the property belonging to him.





## XI.

THE peaceful times for the Highlands, succeeding the massacre of Glencoe, may allow me now to turn aside a little from the Lairds, and devote this chapter to miscellaneous thoughts and incidents, suggested by these inquiries, or connected with them.

I beg pardon for quoting Latin ; but not having Sir John Skene's translation at hand, I am too diffident as to my knowledge of mediæval law phraseology, to give my own as a true version, without affording others an opportunity of correcting me ; moreover, to classical scholars not acquainted with the writings of the middle ages, such samples may perchance be interesting. The first specimen is from the laws ascribed to Malcolm M'Kenneth, who commenced his reign 1003 :—

*Leges Malcolmi Mackenneth, Cap. 10.*—"Item : ordinaverunt, quod nullus Baro, vel Comes, vel aliquis alius receptabit malefactorem aliquem, infra dominationem suam sub poena amissionis curiae suae in perpetuum"—That is "They" (the King and Barons) "have ordained, that no Baron nor Count, nor any other, shall receive any malefactor within his lordship, under the penalty of losing his jurisdiction forever."

The statute of William the Lion regarding the same subject is far more particular, and requires active as well as passive obedience ; not only malefactors must not be harboured, they must be pursued :—

*Statuta sive Assisae Wilhelmi Regis, Cap. 7.*—*Assisa Regis W*

helmi, facta apud Perth, quam Episcopi, Abbates, Comites, Barones, Thani, & tota communitas regni, tenere firmiter juraverunt ; quod nec latrones nec interfectores hominum, nec raptores, nec murdratores, nec alios malefactores, manu-tenebunt nec receptabunt.

2. Quod tam de propriis hominibus, quam de alienis, ubicunque eos poterunt reperire, pro posse suo, eos ad justitiam adducent ; et pro posse suo Justiciarios terrae manu-tenebunt.

3. Et quod propter factum judicium aquae, vel ferri, vel duelli, aut cujuscunque modi judicii nullam sument aut capient pecuniam, aut aliud beneficium, pro quo effectus justitiae maneat imperfectus.

4. Et quod pro posse suo, auxiliantes erunt Domino Regi ; ad inquirendum malefactores ; ad vindictam de illis capiendam.

5. Et cum a Domino Rege requisiti fuerint unusquisque de curia alterius, secundum quod sciverit, verum testimonium perhibebit.

6. Et Dominus Rex, curias ipsorum in vadio cepit ; Itaque qui convictus fuerit super hoc, et assisam hanc infregerit, curiam suam amittet in perpetuum.

“ The assize of King William made at Perth, which the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Thanes, and the whole community of the Kingdom swore firmly to hold and observe : That they shall not receive nor maintain robbers, manslaughterers, persons guilty of rapine, murderers, nor other malefactors.”

2. “ That whether these be of their own men, or of those of others, they shall bring them to justice according to their power, wherever they can find them ; and that, as far as they can, they shall uphold the justiciaries of the land.

3. “ And that for holding the trial by water, by iron, by duel, or any other mode of justice, they shall receive or take no money or other gift, where through the effect of justice may remain imperfect.

4. “ And that according to their power they shall be assisting their Sovereign Lord the King, in seeking out malefactors for being punished.

5. “ And when required by their Lord the King that each, as far as he knows, shall give true testimony in regard to the court of the other.

6. “ And their Lord the King has taken their courts in pledge ; therefore whosoever shall be convicted on this account, and shall infringe this assize, shall lose his rights of jurisdiction for ever.”

Passing over very many intervening Acts of a similar

nature, let us contrast William the Lion's statute with the following bond :—

“ Be it kend till all men be thir presents, me, Angus M'Donald of Kenknock, fforasmuchas by the Laws and Acts of Parliament made for suppressing depredations, thift reift, poinding, \* \* and conniving with thift and other crymes, which wer ordinarily committed by the indwellers in the Highlands, it is statut and ordained, that all heritors, landlords, wadsetters, lyfrenters, and the heads and chieftains of clans, should find cautione for yr haill vassels, men-tenents, and servants. Lykeas, by severall Acts of Council, it is statut and ordained, that all branches of clans and heads of families should lykeways find cautione for the men-tenents, servants, and ye persons of their names descending of their families. Therefore, I, as principall, and dame Lady Helen Lindsay, Lady Glenlyon, lyfrentrix of the lands mentioned in her \* \* \*, as caur for me, bind and oblige us commonllie and seallie, our airs, excrs and successors, That I, the said Angus M'Donald, and my haill tenents, servants, and the persons of my name, descending of my familie, wherever they dwell, shall commit no murder, manslaughter, deforcement, reifts, thifts, depredationes, oppen or avowed fyr-raising upon deadly feuds, nor any other facts or deids contrarrie to the Acts of Parliament, under the pains of fyve hundred merks, Scots money, besydes the redressing and repairing of all paines and skaithes : And farther, that I shall produce before the Comyssoners of Justiciarie, appoynted for secureing the peace of the Highlands, or any other his Matie's Justiciarie haveing power for the tyme, all or any of my men-tenents, servants, and the persons of my name descending of my familie, whenever I shall be called or lawfullie cited to yt effect, under the penaltie forsaid, attour implement of the premyss ; and lykeways to give in yearly lists to the Comyssoners of Justiciarie, or any haveing power as sd is, of the haill persons' names residing within my bounds, above the age of twelve years, under the penaltie foresaid, &c. &c. Subscribed with our hands at Fortingall, the twelve day of November, 1701, befor thir witnesses—Master Alexander Robertson, minister at Fortingall, and Duncan Campbell of Duneaves.

Dun. Campbell, Witness.

A. Robertson, Witness.

A. M'DONALD

HELEN LINDSAY.

Strange, in six hundred years so little change had happened ! This bond does not differ much, except in

form, from the assize of William the Lion ; it takes security against the same evils, and, with a little more minuteness, provides by similar means for the maintenance of public safety. The exaction of oaths and promises of fidelity, and obedience to the law, is invariably a confession of weakness, and affords occasion for the very things it is intended to prevent. For the strong government, it is sufficient to publish the law embodying its will, affixing the punishment due for transgression ; and then it can wait without anxious caution in perfect reliance on its own strength, to be able, on a breach of the law being committed, to chastise the offender immediately with the punishment menaced. The certainty of punishment enables a strong government to dispense with cruel or capricious rigour ; for a small evil, which is sure to happen, is more dreaded than a great one, from which there is a strong probability of escape. The Scottish monarchy was always limited in its power, constitutionally, and the fierce disposition of the people, the power and lawlessness of the nobles, rendered practically that power much less than what it was constitutionally acknowledged to be ; yet one is astonished at the fact, so little political progress had been made in the course of six long centuries, that William of Orange could not dispense with the barbarous and clumsy fencing of authority employed by William the Lion. The causes thickly sewn over the surface of events during that period are numerous and complicated ; but abstracting the adventitious, and sinking the secondary ones, the principal causes are not difficult to be understood. Artificial systems, either in science or politics, unless recommended by comprehensive simplicity, or hallowed by the sacred association

of years, easily succumb to unanticipated difficulties, and changes of character and circumstances.

The social union based upon a general law of nature, such as the ties of consanguinity, and the reverence and obedience due to parental authority, sustains without yielding many rude shocks, and in spite of changes of external form the internal fabric is the same, and the relative position of parties remains unaltered as long as the principle on which the junction is founded has not been abjured by one of the parties themselves. From the days of Malcolm Ceanmore to the Revolution, the feudal system prevailed in the charters of land, the phraseology of law, and regulated, or appeared to regulate generally, the relation of the Chief to the King ; but the private connection of the Chief and his followers rested entirely on the antagonistic principle of clanship. The Chief was feudally the judge ; but be the law what it might, and be the Chief ever so inclined to carry it into effect, that could only be done to the extent the clan wished. The want of a standing army forced the King to make himself content with the sort of obedience his vassals thought convenient to give, and see his excellent laws come still-born into the world, or, after an active effort or two, become dead. The very men, who, according to their feudal tenure, for the time surrounded his banner, might shortly be rebels themselves, and were materially interested in not bringing the disobedient to severe account. It was only when the selfish passions of his followers were enlisted on the side of justice by mortal feuds, or grants of escheated goods, the King's letters of fire and sword were put really in force. The character given by Fordun of the Highlanders of the fourteenth century is not far from being



applicable through the whole period of clanship. "The island or mountain race is wild and untamed, rude and without morals (obedience to the Church he means) capable of rapine, loving idleness, of a teachable and astute nature, of comely appearance, but rendered deformed by dress (the kilted-plaid forsooth); equally hostile and cruel to the people and tongue of England, as well as to (the lowland division of) their own nation, on account of the diversity of language; but faithful to their King and country, and easily subjected to the law, *if brought under control*." In the concluding sentence the venerable chronicler seems to lay the blame of the lawlessness of the Highlands upon the chiefs. King and statesmen wished the chiefs to adopt the feudal system in its rigour, and the whole scope of their efforts tended in that direction; perhaps the latter at times were willing enough if they could; but how were they to deny the brotherhood of blood, to refuse the grasp of friendship to faithful clansmen, while these had arms in their hands, and tradition and practice sanctioned the deposition and death of a degenerate chief? One virtue Fordun cheerfully concedes, "fidelity to the King and kingdom." It is historically true, as well as in accordance with the leading principles of the Celtic race. Within, the claim of equality of blood rendered nugatory every plan of improvement, and scouted restrictions not in accordance with clan sentiments and immemorial practice; without, it presented the boldest front of military aggression, and rushed on the foe with the watchword, "Sons of the Gael, shoulder to shoulder!" The King, to them, was the chief of the great clan, comprising the nation, the successor of the Gallic Vergobretus or British Pendragon; the head captain





in time of war ; in peace, little or nothing above others. When danger and dishonour menaced the King and kingdom, the wild chivalry of the mountains was ever conspicuously in front. Eighteen of the existing clans fought at Bannockburn ; when James IV. fell at Flodden, "beside him lay Argyle and Athole," and many other chiefs of main and isle. An affront to the kingdom was an affront to every clansman personally, and the King could rely on their swords to wipe away the disgrace ; but as for the laws of his domestic government, they just commanded assent as far as they were backed by force, or accorded with clan interests and predilections.

But for all the tenacity with which Highlanders clung to ancient institutions and modes of thought, they could not have held out against surrounding influences and persevering efforts so long, had it not been for the inaccessible nature of their mountains. Till incorporated under the protection of the general laws, till it was no longer necessary for each man to guard his head, of necessity clanship maintained its vigour. Judicious Acts of Parliament, and transient exhibitions of vigour on the part of the central government, had no permanent effect. The Highlands had to be treated as the barbarous neighbour of a civilised country, until General Wade laid their recesses bare, united them to the rest of the kingdom by the bands of commerce and acquaintance, enabled Government to concentrate at a short notice any amount of force where danger was threatened, and, by a prudent disposition of military posts, made it easy to foresee and anticipate each hostile outburst. The measures for which the rebellions of '15 and '45 formed the apology, such as the disarming and diskilting Acts, were the supple-

ment to the General's labours ; the executive was now strong enough to dispense with vicarious factorships, to protect and punish every individual in the Highlands ; and the resumption of heritable jurisdictions was the earnest of its power and determination to do so. Wade, notwithstanding the escapade of Ossian's grave, and two or three similar exploits, knew well how to humour the Highlanders, and respect sentiments so different from his own. In a letter to Mr. Forbes of Culloden, then Lord-Advocate, the General describes an entertainment given him by *Cearnaich* or "cattle lifters" in the following terms :—

"The knight and I travelled in my carriage with great ease and pleasure to the feast of the oxen which the highwaymen had prepared for us opposite Lochgarry, where we found four oxen roasting at the same time, in great order and solemnity. We dined in a tent pitched for that purpose. The beef was excellent ; and we had plenty of bumpers, not forgetting your Lordship's and Culloden's health ; and, after three hours' stay, took leave of our benefactors the highwaymen, and arrived at the hut at Dalnacardoch before it was dark."

Here was easy conduct with a vengeance for the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in North Britain ; but it was chiefly thus he obtained the love and respect of the Highlanders. Except in the prosecution of his engineering plans, which he allowed no obstacle to oppose or turn aside, Wade was indeed so just and accommodating as to win the goodwill of all parties. M'Donald the Bard, a stiff Jacobite, thus "salutes" Wade—the translation is Struan's :—

"Hail ! fav'rite of Great Britain's throne,  
 Prime executor of her law ;  
 Whose skill and forward zeal alone  
 Could fierceness to submission draw,

“ Thro’ rugged rocks you forced a way,  
 Where trade and commerce now are found ;  
 The indigent look brisk and gay,  
 Since plenty does thro’ you abound.

“ The steepest mountain ope’s her womb,  
 To let her sons and hero meet :  
 Who could have dreamed it was her doom  
 E’er to have vy’d with London street.”

Struan himself is no less emphatic. In the lines, “ Tay Bridge to her Founder,” he makes the bridge see and foretell the important consequences of the Marshal’s labours. Tay Bridge was built 1733 :—

“ Long hath old Scotia dissolution feared,  
 Till you, her kind auspicious star appeared ;  
 But soon as the celestial Power came down  
 To smile on labour and on sloth to frown,  
 Scotia, reviving, raised her drooping crown,  
 Discord and barrenness confessed their doom—  
 One closed her feuds, the other ope’d her womb ;  
 Rocks inaccessible a passage know,  
 And men innured to arms address the plough.

No less surprising was the daring scheme  
 That fixed my station on this rapid stream.  
 The north and south rejoice to see me stand,  
 Uniting in my function, hand to hand,  
 Commerce and concord—life of every land.

But who could force rough nature thus to ply,  
 Becalm the torrents, and make rocks to fly ?  
 What art, what temper, and what manly toil  
 Could smooth the rudest sons of Britain’s isle ?

Methinks the reader’s anxious till he is told  
 That Wade was skilful and that Wade was bold.  
 Thus shall his name for Britain’s glory rise  
 Till sun and moon shall tumble from the skies.”

It must be confessed there is more than mouthing here ;

the eccentric chief of Clan Donnochie (Robertsons) had a great deal of common sense, and rejoiced, though a zealous Jacobite, at the prospect opened up to his loved and distracted fatherland. The opening up of a market for the fir-wood of Rannoch was also an arrangement touching him personally. From this source he drew considerable sums during the remainder of his life.

The following extract of "Lybell of Mod. and Locality—Mr. Fergus Ferguson Agt. the Heritors of Fortingall and Killiechonan, 1727," affords an authentic glimpse of the social condition of the people and state of the country at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The parish of Fortingall was just like its neighbours, so that it may be taken as a fair description of most Highland parishes at that time:—

"George, &c.—Forasmuchas it is humbly meant and shown to us by our lovitt, Mr. Fergus Ferguson, minr. of the Gospell at the united paroches of ffortingall and Killiechonen, Moderator of the Presbitry of Dunkeld, and Mr. John Dundas of Philipston, advocate, procurator for the Church of Scotland, that the fersaid united Parishes are of a very Large Extent, the one Extreme part thereof, from the Church of ffortingall where the minr's manse is, to the outmost parts of the lands of Balfracks, is five miles due east ; the oyr Extreme is the head of Glenlyon, which from the said Kirk is Distant ten miles west : The united Parish of Killiechonen is Distant from that of ffortingall seventeen miles North-west ; and it being customary for people there to goe to the Shealls both in summer and winter, at that time the people of Glenlyon are about twenty miles from the Church of ffortingall, and those of Rannoch twelve miles from the Kirk of Killiechonen. In the fersaid united parishes there are four places for publick worship—viz., at Breano in Glenlyon, Eight miles west from the Church of ffortingall, and Kinloch-Rannoch, Eight miles and ane half from the parish Church, and Killiechonen thirteen miles and ane half from the parish Church—which places the minr. supplis by preaching Services both summer and winter. Then betwixt the Kirk of ffortingall and Killiechonen there is a long tract of hills, and through the parish

diverse impetuous Rivers—viz., Tay, Lyon, and the River that Flows out of Loch Rannoch, besides several oysr Burns ; which hills, Burns, and waters are often impassable, and mostly it is so in the winter. In the forsaid parishes there are about three thousand Examinaible persons, all which occasion great trouble, ffatigue, and Charges to the minister in travelling through that vast bounds, preaching, visiting, Baptising, and Catechising : And though there be a sufficiencie of fund in the forsaid parishes for stipends to two minrs, the rentall thereof being Ten Thousand nine hundred fifty one pound Eight shillings, and fourty bolls of victual, according to a rentall thereof, which is as ffolows—viz., The Lands of Struan and oysr, which pertained to the Deceast Alexander Robertson of Struan, fifteen hundred sixty-six pounds ; The Lands of Slismin and oysr, which pertained to Sir Robert Menzies of Weems, sixteen hundred and sixteen pounds ; The lands of Innerhadden and oysr, pertaining to his Grace James, Duke of Athole, wadsett to Mr. Duncan Stewart, Two hundred pounds Scots ; The two-merk land of Dalichosine in Bunrannoch, pertaining to the forsaid Duke, one hundred merks ; The lands of Lassentulloch, Temper, and Tullochcrosk, wadsett by the forsaid Duke to James Stewart in Donnaphuil, Three hundred six pound thirteen shillings four pennies ; The lands in Glenlyon and oysr, pertaining to James Menzies of Culdairs, Two thousand two hundred twenty-five pound one shilling four pennies ; Easter More and Kenknock, belonging to Angus M'Donalds, Elder and younger of Kenknock, four hundred merks ; The west end of ffortingall and oysr, pertaining to John Campbell of Glenlyon, nine hundred sixty pound and six bolls bear, and for his lands of Glenlyon one thousand merks ; The lands of — and oysr, pertaining to William Stewart of Drumchary, ffive hundred pound ; The lands of Easter end of ffortingall, belonging to Lord George Murray of Garth, seven hundred seventy seven pound thirteen shillings four pennies ; Duneaves, Moncrieff, and oysr, pertaining to John Campbell of Duneaves, one Thousand pound ; The lands of Baelfrack and oysr, pertaining to James Menzies of Balefracks, one Thousand pound ; and the lands of Lagancaillie and oysr, belonging to Captain James Menzies of Cernenie, Twenty-eight bolls victual : And that by diverse Acts of Parliament it is ordained that minrs. of the Gospell be provided in competent Stipends, with a fund for furnishing communion Elements, yet nevertheless the minr. of the forsaid parishes hath no Decreet for the same, and the use &

wont is only about five hundred merks yearly and the payment thereof very uncertain, it being collected from house to house in small quantities : And therefore," &c. &c.

In the parish of Fortingall, during the space of 129 years, property has changed hands to a great extent as the following table will show :—

Estates.	Proprietors, 1727,	Proprietors, 1856.
Struan,	Robertson	Robertson.
Slismin,	Menzies	Menzies.
Innerhadden,	Athole	Stewart.
Dalchosnie,	Athole	Sir J. W. M'Donald.
Lassentulloch,	Athole	Stewart.
Tullochcrosk,	Athole	M'Donald of St. Martins.
Fortingall,	Campbell	Garden of Troup.
Drumcharry,	Stewart	M'Donald of St. Martins.
Meggernie,	Menzies	Menzies.
Chesthill,	Campbell	Menzies.
Garth,	Murray	M'Donald of St. Martins.
Duneaves,	Campbell	Breadalbane.
Moncrieff (or Culdares),	Campbell	Menzies.
Bolfracks,	Menzies	Breadalbane.
Lagan,	Menzies	Breadalbane.

There is a considerable decrease in the population. If to the three thousand examinable persons—that is, persons above 14 years of age—we add one-fifth for children, the population in 1727 would be 3,600. The census population of 1851 was 2,485, showing a decrease of 1,115, and yet the parish of Fortingall has not been cleared like some of its neighbours. In 1727 the upland parts of the parish were reserved for sheilings. These are now large sheep farms. At the above date, as much as possible was made of the lower grounds in the way of cultivation. The arable ground was laid out in two divisions ; the more fertile, or infield, being under crop yearly, while the inferior division, or out-



field, was only laid under crop occasionally—being in the interval under grass, and the folds placed on it for the purpose of manuring. Taking the whole under regular and occasional cultivation, the arable acreage at the beginning of the eighteenth century might be one-third more than it is at present. Not many sheep were kept, and they were regularly housed in winter. The herds were the great source of wealth; and in hard summers, when meal was scarce, their milk and blood constituted the principal means of subsistence. If the winter was not very severe, the young cattle were kept on the grazings till February, and herds of small Highland ponies were not housed at all. In a good spring the cattle were driven to the sheilings for a few weeks, to give the grass on the lower ground time to grow, and then taken home. June was the time for the second and more universal flitting. The young women and children, and a few old men to keep all in order, accompanied the herds; most of the matrons and grown-up males remained at home for the harvest work. It was a happy day of bustle and anticipation that for setting out to the sheilings. The old men and boys, driving the cattle, went first. The girls followed guiding or leading horses, laden with their household goods—churns, cheese-presses, crocks, dairy utensils of all shapes and sizes, but mostly all of one material, birchwood—pots, crooks, small bags of meal, and old hose metamorphosed into salt-cellars—in short, the whole household goods and gear of the mountain hut, and that was not bulky, for one horse carried it, and perhaps on the top of all the presiding deity, the laughing maid, with ribbon or snood round her long twining tresses, who proudly anticipates her temporary rule over beast and man, and

the joyful greeting from friends in the neighbouring sheiling.

The younger portion of the community did always, indeed, look forward to these annual migrations with the greatest pleasure. It was something to be thrown on their own resources, to be left to wander day by day through the lonely mountains, and with minds imbued with deep sentiments and poetic superstitions, to meet and contemplate the sublimity and loveliness of nature amidst her solitudes. Fishing and fowling afforded an unlimited field for exercise and amusement; for then, beyond the precincts of the forest, game laws were unknown; grouse, hares, &c., had not yet come to be considered a part or accident of property. And when all gathered in the evening about the huts clustered on the side of the burn, when the calves were in the fold, and the cows turned back to the brae, the harper produced the *Clarshach*, and the gay-hearted tenants of the *Ruidhe* turned out to dance on the green, or mayhap the grey-headed Senachie, as the shadows of night deepened, and shrouded the cliff and corrie, recounted to them tragic stories of disappointed love and terrible revenge, or tales of the fairies and of perturbed spirits that walked the earth for their sins.

The extract already given shows one minister could scarcely labour very successfully in religious matters in such a wide district. Well, I am sorry to confess, religion, as now the word is understood, had then very little hold over some of the parishioners of Fortingall. An attendance at the parish church on the great festival days, and an observance in private of a few superstitious rites—some derived from Rome, some from Druidism—constituted almost the sum

total of their religion. The memoirs of Dugald Buchanan tell how the Rannoch people met on the Sundays to play at football, &c., and the rest of the parish was not much better. Buchanan brought about in Rannoch a great social reform, in regard at least to the observance of the Sabbath, and outward duties of religion. M'Arthur, a man of similar character and profession, laboured contemporaneously for the same end in Glenlyon. Attaching himself to the young, as the more susceptible of improvement, he followed them to the sheilings, and carried on his Bible teaching there. On the sheep farm of Lochs, formerly the sheilings of the district of Roro, a conical hillock, rising from a level boggy plain, erects itself like a sentinel over the neighbouring land and water, at the east end of Loch Daimdhe. Here M'Arthur congregated his untutored hearers, and translated for them, each Sunday, a chapter of the Bible, and a piece of Matthew Henry's *Commentary*—for the Irish Bibles of 1690 were possessed and understood but by few, and Stewart of Killin had not yet finished his Gaelic translation.

Let me ask, in parenthesis, how could the Highlanders have been so unmindful of the minister of Killin's claims on their gratitude? No memorial of their love and reverence, not even the rudest, marks his final resting-place in the churchyard of Killin; yet he was the first man who gave them the Word of God in their own language. It was through his unrequited labours that the Government and Church were, after many fruitless efforts, successful in civilising and Christianising the Highlands and isles. In honouring him, they would honour themselves, and the priceless legacy he bequeathed them and their children. James Stewart, as much as, perhaps more than, any bard

warrior, or philosopher, was the benefactor of his race. Shall it always be said that he sleeps in the grave, into which he had sunk wearied and impoverished by his stupendous work, uncared for and unhonoured by the people whom his labours helped to enroll in the catalogue of fervent Christians?

To return to M'Arthur: he and his hearers were on a certain Sabbath disturbed amidst their devotions by the yelling of the dogs, which, having accompanied their owners to the religious exercise, and not feeling so edified as the bipeds, had gone on a little excursion of their own, and had started a deer in a neighbouring den, and thereby caused the sudden clamour. The deer meeting the hillock congregation in front, and the dogs following behind, took the water near the spot where they were assembled. Notwithstanding M'Arthur's entreaties, his hearers in a moment changed into keen huntsmen, and dispersed at the top of their speed for the different places where the stag was thought likely to land. The issue of the sport was unsuccessful. One man threw his axe at the deer's head, when swimming to the shore, but missed, and the axe sank into the lake. On this, some of the more pious began to suggest it was the devil in deer's likeness, that came to interrupt their devotions; but the hero of the axe protested, declaring, "devil or no devil, it was, notwithstanding, a fat stag of ten, and I would have killed him were he a devil ever so much, if I had another axe." Though things of this sort did happen at times, M'Arthur's efforts bore much fruit, and his memory was for a long time religiously revered. Here is another anecdote of the same description. A Glenlyon woman who died 40 or 50 years ago, when nearly a 100 years of age, in telling her sheiling experience, used

to add, to the horror of her more pious descendants, "Fionn-aghleann mo chridhe thar nach bidhe Di-domhnuich"—*i.e.* "Finglen of my heart, where there would be no Sunday." Finglen, or the "Glen of the Feinne," was a sheiling in the Braes of Glenlyon, adjoining the old royal forest of Bentsakerly, or, as then called, *Coirecheathaich*. The foresters, sometime before the year 1740, built a hut on the march overlooking Finglen, and there watched the cattle and pounded them when trespassing. The sheiling maidens, after two or three exploits of this kind on the part of their neighbours, got exasperated, and formed the doughty resolution of pulling their hut about the foresters' ears, and making them decamp *instantly*. A Sunday, of all days in the week, was chosen, because most of the foresters were then absent. The furious maidens carried the fortress of turf by a *coup-de-main*, pelted the foresters present to perfection, and left not a stone or rather a turf standing on the other. The foresters were so ungallant as to make a formal complaint to the Earl of Breadalbane, and he put the machinery of legal punishment in motion. It was easily done at that time. Sir Duncan Cameron with Lochnell's company of the Black Watch was then guarding the peace of the district, and a detachment of it pounced upon the Amazons, hurried them to Perth, bare headed and bare footed as they stood, and clapped them into jail. They were tried, but got off with flying colours. Their landlord, James Menzies of Culdares, like a true Highlander, attended court to see justice done; he became security for their future good behaviour; and when they were liberated he placed himself and his piper at their head and marched through Perth to the defiant strains of

“ Gabhaidh mise’n rathad mor,  
Olc, air mhath le cach e.”  
“ On the road I go ; on the road I go ;  
Where’er I like I’ll go,  
Be others pleased or no.”

This was the occasion of beginning a lawsuit about bounds which nearly ruined the heir of the Crowner.

But though the Highlanders were, as shown, careless about religion, the kirk-session at that date exercised an important jurisdiction over the whole field of morals, trenching much, indeed, upon what now exclusively belongs to the civil courts. Of all judicatories it was the most respected and best obeyed ; for the Highlanders, remiss and careless in other matter, set great store by the ordinances of baptism and communion ; and the cutty-stool and sackcloth gown were much more dreaded in 1700 than the threats of the law and “ tout ” of the royal horn. Seeing there were few restrictions on the intercourse of the sexes, and considering the oblique idea they had of some other moral duties, it is astonishing to find how little the evil of illegitimacy prevailed ; and it is mortifying to think that the snood and poetry of 1700 were far more efficient in guarding the stream of domestic affection pure and undefiled, than the boasted knowledge and gospel light of 1856. “ Love strong as death, pure as the mountain spring,” was the theme of poet and senachie. The loss of the snood, the emblem of maidenhood, carried in itself a sentence of social ostracism.

A frail one of the better class, who went astray with a man below her station, was the cause of a tragic catastrophe in the preceding century (1640 or thereabouts), which legend and song yet conspire to keep in memory. She was a daughter of Campbell of Lawers, and fell in love with



her father's harper or fiddler. Her degradation became known to the family. Her brothers watched and caught her and her swain together in a sheiling on the side of Benlawers. The fiddler run for sweet life, with the infuriated youths at his heels. When making a desperate leap over a rock, he fell and broke his leg. The avengers of family honour were upon him, and barbarously maltreated him. The reel tune commemorating the circumstance is well known to the lovers of Highland music—"Nighean Tighearna Labhair," &c.





## XII.

BEFORE returning to the Campbells, I may be allowed, because of their place in local story, to devote a short space to Robertson of Struan and the M'Gregors of Roro. Their wild tragic story makes the M'Gregors stand out the conspicuous heroes of romance and song. Besides, the history of this branch, not the least remarkable of the "three houses" into which persecution had broken the clan, is, I believe, far less familiarly known than that of the others. As for Struan, the erring, chivalrous, poetic chief of Clan-Donnachie, of all the old lairds he was the popular favourite, and the supposed prototype of the "Baron of Bradwardine" must be an object of interest to the admirers—and who are not?—of the tale of *Waverley*.

"Duncan the Fat," if the traditions of the Robertsons are to be believed, was a descendant of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles. He was the contemporary and fellow-in-arms of Robert Bruce. From him, as their founder, the clan assumed the name of Clan-Donnachie or Duncansons. Antiquaries deny the traditional genealogy from the MacDonalds, and prove, indeed, from ancient charters and the term "de Atholia," "of Athole"—uniformly ascribed in old writings to the heads of the family—that they were the male representatives of the ancient Earls of Athole—a genealogy which would carry them back to Crinan Abbot of Dunkeld, and the stem from which branched

so many kings and princes. The clan took the name of Robertson from Robert, great-grandson of Duncan the Fat, who helped to capture and bring to justice Graham and the Master of Athole, both participators in the murder of James I. The property of the Struans, of large extent under Duncan the Fat, gradually decreased ; but the influence of the family remained fixed ; for the antiquity of the race, and the readiness with which the successive chiefs of Clan-Donnachie emulated the deeds of their ancestors—be it for good or evil—recommended them to the love and allegiance of the lawless Highlanders. In 1715 the chief of Struan could raise 800 men.

During the wars of Montrose, the Robertsons had performed the part of brave, dutiful, and devoted subjects, for which they were formally thanked by Charles II. in a letter under his own hands, dated Chantilly, 1655.

On the breaking out of the Revolution of 1688, our hero Alexander Robertson, then a young man, was at the head of the clan. He had lately succeeded his father, who also bore the name of Alexander, in the leadership. Nurtured in the highest ideas of loyalty, and inflamed with the renown his uncle and father acquired in the service of Charles, he joined Dundee at once, and is said to have been a principal instigator in making Stewart of Ballechin seize the Castle of Blair, and fortify it for King James. Lord Murray, who espoused the side of King William, attempted in vain to get possession of his father's castle, and was equally unsuccessful in restraining the Atholemen from following Dundee. Struan fought under Dundee at Killiecrankie, and shared in every attempt of the Jacobites until the Battle of Dunkeld. The Highlanders then, as

is well known, infuriated at the incapacity of Cannan, and despairing of being able longer to keep the field, resolved to disperse. They first, however, entered into a bond of association for supporting King James and protecting one another. Struan, with characteristic impetuosity, was the first to sign this document, which is in the following terms :—

We, Lord James Murray, Patrick Stewart of Ballechan, Sir John M'Lean, Sir Donald M'Donald, Sir Ewen Cameron, Glengarie, Benbecula, Sir Alexander M'Lean, Appin, Enveray, Keppoch, Glencoe, Strowan, Calochele, Lieut-Col. M'Gregor, Bara, Large, M'Naughton, do hereby bind and oblige ourselves, for his Majesty's service and our safeties, to meet at —, the — day of September next, and bring along with us — fencible men. That is to say, Lord James Murray and Ballechan, — ; Sir John M'Lean, 200 ; Sir Donald M'Donald, 200 ; Sir Ewen Cameron, 200 ; Glengarie, 200 ; Benbecula, 200 ; Sir Alexander M'Lean, 100 ; Appin, 100 ; Enveray, 100 ; Keppoch, 100 ; Lieut-Col. M'Gregor, 100 ; Calochele, 50 ; Strowan, 60 ; Bara, 50 ; M'Naughtan, 50 ; Large, 50. But in case any of the rebels shall assault or attack any of the above-named persons betwixt the date hereof and the said day of rendezvous, we do all solemnly promise to assist one another to the utmost of our power. As witness these presents signed by us at the Castle of Blair the 24th of August, 1689 years. (Signed) Al. Robertson ; D. M'Neil ; Alex. M'Donald ; do. M'Gregor ; Alex. M'Donel ; D. M'Donald ; D. M'D. of Benbecula ; Al. M'Donald ; Tho. Farqrson ; Jo. M'Leane ; E. Cameron of Lochiel ; Al. Stuart.

They never met again. Mackay came, soon after this, to Blair. Struan was taken prisoner by him, or by the garrison he left there, and sent to Edinburgh. Fortunately for him, Struan found a true and powerful friend in the Earl of Argyle, who stood by him in this emergency. When the unfortunate expedition of Argyle and Monmouth took place in 1685, all the adjacent clans, with the exception of the Robertsons, obeyed the orders of the Privy-Council in

taking arms against the Campbells. Struan's father asked and obtained leave to stay at home, and preserve the country from thefts and depredations. From some old kindnesses he was unwilling to join in crushing Argyle ; and when the bubble burst, he is said to have afforded refuge and means of escape to some members of Argyle's family. No sooner, therefore, was Struan imprisoned than the heir of the unfortunate Earl stood forth as his protector. He procured his being set at liberty out of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on parole, and afterwards got him exchanged as a prisoner of war for Sir Robert Pollock, who was taken by Dundee at the commencement of hostilities, and afterwards retained a prisoner in Mull. Struan had full liberty to join his unfortunate Master wherever he could find him, and he accordingly went to France, and remained at St. Germain, as it would appear, until the death of James. Peculiarly accessible to every generous emotion, he commemorates his escape in a short poem, which he styles

## GRATITUDE : AN EPIGRAM.

“ Sure we remember how, in days of yore,  
When fawning chiefs oppressed Macaillein-Voir,  
And fraudfully brought on his hasty fall  
Clan-Donnoch's fairer chief forsook them all :  
He nobly waved to lend his helping hand  
To what he thought too rigid a command,  
And ventured rather to displease the King  
Than meanly bend to an unmanly thing.  
This deed of worth remained not long unpaid,  
But the foundation of strong friendship laid.  
Clan-Donnoch's heir, while yet in early bloom,  
Moved by some dictates of too subtle Rome,  
By Argethalian power was kindly freed  
From hostile bondage and forbad to bleed.

Thus generous actions and a grateful mind,  
 By mutual impulse mutually inclined,  
 Alternately beget each others' kind.  
 O ! may this plighted ardour still remain  
 Fixed without change, and fair without a stain."

The estate was forfeited, but Argyle obtained a grant of it for the family, in trust, as it was understood, for Struan.

The Government watched the Robertsons, they were so unruly as to need it, and for some years after, Struan's step-mother required to get security for the good behaviour of his younger brother, as the following paper shows :—

Be it knowne to all men be thir present Letters, me, Alexander Robertstone, Baillie in Perth, fforasmeikleas John Campbell of Glenlyon has, at my earnest desyre and requeist, become catione and security for Labarrowes, acted in the books of Counsell and Session, for Duncan Robertstone, second lawfull son to the deceist Alexander Robertstone of Strowan, Donald Robertstone his servitor, Donald More M'Keissock in Cary, and John Caanoch, servitor to the said Duncan Robertstone : that Marion Baillie, relict of the said deceist Alexander Robertstone, her tennents, cottars, servants, and oys, shall be harmless and skaithless in yer bodies, lands, heritadges, and others, from each of the fornamed persons, under the pain of four hundred merks Scots moy. Therefor witt ye me to be bund and obleidged, as I, be thir presents, bind and obleidge me, my airs, successors, & executors, to warrand, freily releive, & skaithless keep the said John Campbell of his cationrie abovewritten, and of all coast, skaith, damadge, interest, or expenses, he shall happen to sustain or incur through his being securitie for the forenamed persons, or oyr of them, any manner of way, or in any sort. And I consent that this be insert and regrate in the books of Counsel and Session, &c. In witness yrof, I have subscribed thir presents at Edinr. the eight day of March, ane thousand seven hundred years, before thir witnesses—James Drummond, wryter in Edinburgh, and John Hodge, his servitor.

Jas. Drummond, witness.

A. ROBERTSTONE.

Jo. Hodge, witness.



It appears the step-mother of Struan was unworthy of the trust reposed in her by the deceased chief. Some years after Struan went into exile, she made a degrading marriage with her former husband's harper. This harper was also a Robertson, and I believe his race are still called "clann-a-chlarschair." The clan took this step in deep dudgeon, and young Duncan, with a few headstrong followers, entered into very illegal plans for depriving her of all means and authority—wherefore the above. As for Struan, when he heard it in France, he vowed he would never marry, and kept the vow religiously to the end of his life. His poems afford abundant evidence that he had but a very low opinion of the sex in general—a result which, however, the licentious morals of France under Louis XIV. and the Regent Orleans, and the gay reckless characters with whom he associated in that country, may have had as much contributed to bring about as the defection of his step-mother.

Struan amused himself in exile by satirising the deeds and characters of William and his ministers. The staunch believer in the divine right of kings considered the use of the most scurrilous epithets justifiable, if not meritorious, towards the "usurper" William. However amusing and agreeable to the Court of St. Germain's his poetic efforts in this line might have been, his gems of rough and ready wit lie too often deeply bedded in terms and sentiments abhorred by an age of greater propriety for being acceptable now. The following, written a few years after his arrival in France, will bear being quoted:—

REVOLUTION ADVANTAGES.

"I love to rehearse,  
In dutiful verse,

The joys our deliverer gave us,  
When he wafted ashore  
Three thousand and more  
Of Papists from Popery to save us.

Such prudence he had,  
Or of good or of bad,  
To cherish the party prevailing ;  
And for thought of the throne  
Declared he had none,  
As was honestly seen by his dealings.

Yet he set off the King,  
That impertinent thing  
That is called the Almighty's Anointed,  
Whose begetting a son  
Was unmannerly done,  
Since Orange's nose it disjointed.

His love to the Dutch,  
His country, was such  
That he thought us too happily stated ;  
So our ills to restrain,  
Crossed over the main  
Our commerce and lion he translated.

Our Church cannot fear  
His fatherly care—  
We see how his prelates have voted,  
That in they may foist  
The Apostates of Christ,  
And divines like themselves be promoted.

His sanctified rage  
Reforms the lewd age  
In spite of the wicked's aspersion ;  
For with hand and with tongue  
He's reclaiming the young  
From ways that are virtue's aversion.

His conscience inclines  
To caress the divines  
Who degrade his dear Son from his station ;

For except his dear self,  
 Since we're drained of our pelf,  
 They have left ne'er a God in the nation.

Such tenets as these  
 Must certainly please,  
 To abolish religion and goodness ;  
 For if faith comes about  
 Then murder will out,  
 And adieu usurpation and lewdness."

Never had an unfortunate Prince been so deserted in his utmost need by all who were bound by oath, gratitude, and natural affection, to support him, as James II. on the landing of the Prince of Orange. Nobles, churchmen, soldiers, fled from him as if he had the plague. Lord Churchill (afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough), who had been raised by James from the rank of a page to a high command in the army and a place in the peerage, not only deserted his benefactor, but, by means of his lady—the notorious Sarah—induced the Princess Anne, and her husband George of Denmark, to go also over to the rebel camp. Struan ridicules the universal fickleness with much smartness and jovial humour in a song which he calls

#### THE WHEEL OF LIFE.

" The wheel of life turns whimsically round,  
 And nothing in this world of constancy is found ;  
 No principle, no tie, in either Church or State,  
 But interest overrules : such is the will of fate.  
 The churchman, who in faith should be refined.  
 The weather-cock does blame, that wheels with every wind :  
 Yet touch him with your coin, and you shall quickly see  
 The needle to the pole wheels not so fast as he !  
 The lawyer swears he is sure your cause is just,  
 And bids you, with a smile, on him repose your trust ;

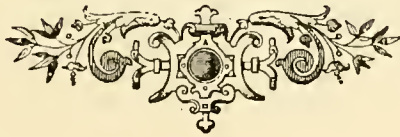
But if a greater fee into his hand they slide,  
He straight begins to doubt, and wheels to t'other side.

The soldier who with honour is replete,  
By solemn oath is bound to serve the King and State ;  
But if contending, two pretenders come in play,  
He wheels about to him that gives the greater pay.

The courtier turns, to gain his private ends,  
Till he so giddy grown, he quite forgets his friends :  
Prosperity of time deceives the proud and vain,  
It wheels them in so fast, it wheels them out again.

Thus all mankind on fortune's wheel do go,  
And as some mount on high, some others tumble low ;  
From whence we all agree, tho' many think it strange,  
No sublunary thing can live without a change.

Then fill about a bumper to the brim,  
Till all repeat it round, and every noddle swim !  
How pleasing is the charm that makes our table reel,  
And all around it laugh at Fortune at her wheel ! "





### XIII.

A PROCLAMATION of indemnity being published by Queen Anne in March, 1703, in favour of all who had borne arms against Government since 1688, most of the Jacobites in France then came home. Struan returned with the rest. He quietly took possession of his property, as if no forfeiture had taken place. Now his own master, and the independent chief of several hundred devoted adherents, he began with enthusiasm to form plans for the beautifying and improving of his estate, in the prosecution of which he exhibited a great deal of sound common-sense, mingled with the taste acquired in France, and with not a little of his own natural oddity of character. The fir woods were turned to account, and good regulations laid down for the proper grazing and cultivation of the ground. But the favourite creation of Struan's taste was the Hermitage of Mount Alexander. Choosing the bold bluff mound, standing, sentinel-like, at the entrance of Rannoch for a site, he placed his nest on the top, and ornamented and planted all round, as he himself styles it, "A la mode de France." From this sanctuary woman was strictly excluded. He was exclusively served by male attendants, and the company invited to his jovial bachelor feasts were, without exception, of the same sex. To his servants he was a kind and indulgent master. This was the advice he gave one of them when entering upon his employment:—

"You are a stranger, and I'll tell you the sort of master you have got. I'll make you serve *me* right. I'm dreadfully hasty, too, and shall scold you at times without rhyme or reason. When I'm angry, I'll not bear you to be insolent, nor a dumb dog neither. When you are right and I wrong, defend yourself like a man, but do it without impertinence." Almost every gate and door about the Hermitage bore proofs of Struan's poetical talents. Take for example :—

LINES OVER THE DOOR OF MOUNT ALEXANDER.

" Turn thec, judicious guest, and relish all  
The various beauties of the globe, in small.  
The power and being of a God you'll trace  
In the contexture of this narrow space."

OVER THE DINING ROOM DOOR.

" Let no excess in our plain board appear,  
For moderation is the best of cheer.  
Of-times the man, in meat and drink profuse,  
Frantic or dull, with the bewitching juice,  
Forgets the God that gave it for his usc."

OVER THE BEDCHAMBER DOOR.

" Here taste a sweet and undisturbed repose,  
A short-lived death t' unbend thy mind from woes.  
Yet be prepared, not knowing but thou'rt bound  
To fetch thy nap till the last trump shall sound."

But the "Lines over Mount Alexander Gate" were those that chiefly provoked the ire of the fair, and called forth their poetical castigation :—

" In this small spot whole paradise you'll sce,  
With all its plants but the forbidden tree.  
Here every sort of animal you'll find,  
Subdued, but woman who betrayed mankind.



All kinds of insects, too, their shelter take  
Within these happy groves, except the snake.  
In fine, there's nothing poisonous here enclosed,  
But all is pure as heaven at first disposed.  
Woods, hills, and dales, with milk and corn abound.  
Traveller, pull off thy shoes, 'tis holy ground."

The jovial, whimsical, warm-hearted Struan was a prime favourite with all parties. He was, in fact, a privileged person. His known eccentricity, his learning, and poetical genius, no less than his extreme sense of honour, and the antiquity of his family, endeared him to Whig and Jacobite, and excused in him those political sallies and practices which would consign another to a State prison. Struan was no intriguer. He could only think of the restoration of his "King" by a bold and chivalrous *coup-de-main*. But though not implicated in the tortuous secret checks and counter-checks of parties, he could see by his frolicsome eye more than those he came in contact with counted upon, and their selfish littleness and fine-spun scheming formed a subject for his rough hearty muse much oftener than they at all wished. Party-spirit did not blind him as much as others either to falsehood or worth. The firmest Jacobite in the three kingdoms, he could ridicule the caballers of St. Germain, and eulogise the Duke of Argyle, without affording the least ground of suspicion of having turned his coat.

Struan was suddenly called from his nine years' quiet retirement. Anne died; the Elector of Hanover was proclaimed King of Great Britain; Mar proclaimed the Chevalier at Moulinearn—these events followed fast upon each other. Struan was among the first to join the rebel Earl. He had been previously summoned to attend at

Edinburgh, under the pain of fine and imprisonment, to give bail for his allegiance to the existing Government—From his hostility to the whole race of “wee lairdies,” and to their chief in special, he was known at this time among his Jacobite friends by the nick-name of “Elector.”

Mar thought it of much importance to gain the hearty co-operation of the “Elector of Struan.” He was anxious to humour him himself, and endeavoured to make others do so also. At the beginning of the rebellion, Perth was seized by the Jacobites of Fife. Colonel Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinnoull, was appointed governor of the captured city, with very despotic instructions indeed. Alexander of Struan, with his Robertsons, reinforced Hay by order of Mar. In his letter to Hay, Mar thus introduces Struan:—“You must take care to please the Elector of Struan, as they call him. He is an old colonel; but, as he says himself, understands not much of the trade. So he’ll be ready to be advised by Colonel Balfour and Urquhart. As for money, I am not so rife of it as I hope to be soon; but I have sent off the little I have, fifty guineas, by the bearer.” Struan’s enthusiasm was of that infectious kind which spread from man to man. His zeal shamed the sluggish and inflamed the lukewarm. One of the ways by which he dragged half-unwilling recruits to the standard of the Chevalier may be seen from the following lines:—

STRUAN TO HIS BROTHER, DUNCAN VOIR, OVER A BOTTLE.

“To retrieve your good name  
And establish your fame  
Dear Goth\* let your fiddling alone:  
’Tis better to go

---

\* Struan calls his brother by this nickname very often.

And fight with the foe  
That keeps royal James from his own."

DUNCAN VOIR'S ANSWER.

" The fatigues of the field  
Small pleasures can yield  
But the silly repute of a Hector ;  
Then at Carie we'll stay,  
And drink every day,  
With the dear little prig, the Elector."

Such humorous bantering was with Struan a common weapon. Duncan Voir did go out to seek the "silly repute of a Hector," but got a long imprisonment instead. Another brother was among the slaughtered at Preston.

At the Battle of Sheriffmuir, Struan, along with Lord Strathallan, commanded the centre of Mar's second line. The honest laird distinguished himself more by his downright knight-errant bravery than by the talents proper for a commander. When the English dragoons reeled before the first furious onset of the clans, Struan, it is said, threw himself before the lines, and, holding up his purse, shouted to one of the retreating foe, " Turn, caitiff, turn ; fight with me for money, if not for honour ! "

The firmness of the Government forces, and the ability of their general, though the battle was undecisive enough to allow both parties the claim of victory, made such an impression upon the insurgents, that many began to despair of the issue, and gradually deserted their colours. Struan's sanguine nature, roused by actual conflict to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, overlooked all obstacles and difficulties in the way, and fixedly gazed on the expected result, the installing of James at Whitehall. The song in which

he expressed his feelings immediately after the Battle of Sheriffmuir will show his sentiments better than anything else :—

“ Since loyalty is still the same  
 Whether it win or lose the game,  
 To flinch it were a burning shame  
     Since Mar has won a battle :  
 Let each brave true-hearted Scot  
 Improve the victory he has got,  
 Resolving all shall go to pot,  
     Or James the Eighth to settle.

Let those unmanly men who fear,  
 With downcast looks, and hanging ears,  
 Who think each shadow that appears  
     An enemy pursuing—  
 Let such faint-hearted souls be gone,  
 The dangers of the field to shun ;  
 We'll make Argyle once more to run,  
     And think on what he's doing.

Can poor Low-country water-rats,  
 Withstand our furious mountain-cats,  
 The dint of whose well-armed pats  
     So fatally confoundeth,  
 When many hundred warlike men  
 Were so well cut, and so well slain,  
 That they can scarce get up again  
     When the last trumpet soundeth ?

Come, here's to the victorious Mar,  
 Who bravely first conceived the war,  
 And to all those who went so far  
     To shake off Union's slavery—  
 Whose fighting for such noble cause  
 As king and liberty and laws,  
 Must from their foes even force applause,  
     In spite of their own knavery.”

But the affairs of the insurgents were rapidly falling to

ruin. Few were animated with a spirit similar to Struan's. The Chevalier arrived at Perth in January, and made a shadowy attempt to assume the insignia and discharge the functions of royalty. The presence of the Prince in the rebel camp did more harm than good. His pale melancholy face showed no trace of sanguine hope; and instead of using the animating military eloquence of a Montrose or Dundee, to rally and encourage his followers, the unhappy Chevalier did so preserve that silent deportment naturally belonging to him—but in present circumstances so thoroughly out of place—as to provoke the Highlanders to ask “if he could speak?” On the approach of Argyle the insurgent camp finally broke up; and after a few weeks' residence in the country, James embarked at Dundee for France in the beginning of February, 1716, and never returned. After his unmartial conduct on this occasion, though cherishing their allegiance to him as a religious sentiment, James never thoroughly gained the love of the Highlanders for his person in the way his son Charles Edward did. After Sheriffmuir, Struan does not again mention his name, coupled as formerly with personal commendation, but merely as the perpetuator and temporary representative of the “sacred blood of anointed kings.” The disappointment appears to have been universal; and, indeed, had it been otherwise, Charles' name would not have so completely eclipsed that of his royal father in the rebellion of '45 and ever afterwards. The language of official documents might be different; but few of the Highlanders thought at Culloden they were fighting for any person or thing other than the Prince and Prince alone.

Before leaving the country, the Chevalier sent a letter

to the Duke of Argyle, "desiring him, if not as an obedient subject, at least as a lover of his country," to appropriate certain sums of money left behind by him, for the purpose of repairing, as far as possible, the damages of war. The Duke's merciful order, to "spare the poor blue bonnets" at Sheriffmuir, sank deep into the grateful hearts of the rebels, and his manly talents and known integrity pointed him out to all but to the Germanised London Government as the fittest person for settling the troubles following the rebellion. Struan's lines to the Duke on the same occasion are creditable to both :—

" By gentle means mankind is formed to good,  
Virtue's inculcated, and vice subdued :  
The tender patriot's mildness oft prevails  
When the tumultuous warrior's fury fails.  
This Scotia saw, when, by your milder art,  
You gained th' applause and love of every heart.  
Th' unconquerable clans, when you engage,  
Bold to perform, as in your counsel sage,  
Submit their interests, and dismiss their rage.  
Safe on your word, they fear no treacherous foe,  
No breach of public faith, no Preston, no Glencoe."

Struan and the Laird of Glenlyon accompanied their Prince to France. The estate was a second time forfeited. Struan continued in exile until 1724 or thereabouts. During his exile, war broke out between Great Britain and Spain. Cardinal Alberoni formed a scheme for distracting the efforts of England, by fitting out an expedition for supporting the pretensions of James. The conducting of this expedition was entrusted to Ormond. The Regent Orleans sided with King George. Attempts were made to engage the famous Duke of Berwick, natural son of James



II., now a Marshal of France, in this expedition. In the eyes of Struan, Berwick was clearly the man of the age; he introduces his name as often as he can, and always associated with praise. With great respect, tempered with a little disappointed bitterness, he expostulates with the Duke about the Ormond expedition, and counsels him directly to desert France and fly to Spain. It would appear that Struan obtained, for the second time, pardon from Government, through the intercession of the Dukes of Argyle and Albemarle. In 1723, the estate was granted to Struan's sister, which grant she, according, as it would seem, to a previous arrangement, transferred to trustees for her brother in liferent, and in reversion to the next heir-male of the family.





#### XIV.

THE failure of the efforts to replace the Stuarts on the throne of Britain was so signal as to make it evident to Struan's strong common-sense, that the struggle in present circumstances, and probably for the future too, was nearly hopeless. He appeared so far reconciled to the Brunswick dynasty as to be willing to lead a peaceable life under the shadow of the legal Government, keeping his allegiance to the Stuarts like the private worship of the household gods.

Marshal Wade was a fast friend of Struan ; but being invited to a ball given by the Marshal at Weem, Struan, according to Highland custom, having insisted on paying a part of the "lawing," so affronted the Englishman that he for a time lost his favour, and was also, what he liked better, in danger of being "called out." Struan, without a plack in his purse, would, like Caleb Balderston, have considered it a degradation not in all things to keep up the honour of the house, and show everybody he was chief of Clan-Donnachie—a potentate, in his opinion, differing from the Grand Monarque only in degree. His long residence in France had habituated Struan to the strict feudalism of that country, and the natural result was to make him, speculatively, the imitator of the petty, arrogant, despotic French *seigneur* ; while his warm heart and clannish pride counteracted the evil, and made him, practically, the

kindest and most affectionate of chiefs. He evidently considered himself a higher sort of individual than his followers—in fact, a being made of different clay. From him we never hear of the Robertsons and their deeds, but of the Chief of the Robertsons and *his* deeds, and this not so much from personal vanity—of which, however, he had a full allowance—but for the “credit of the house,” he himself being the house for the time. The king accountable to God, the noble accountable to God and the king (perhaps, in fact, the latter should be first), the noble’s vassal accountable to all the higher powers—and so on; the chains of authority duly increasing and tightening, to keep that beast, the multitude, properly tied down: such was, legitimately, the plan of government anxiously desired by the Stuarts, acted upon by Louis le Grand, and worshipped by Struan. Were the perfection of the Supreme to be found in the delegates, no objection could be made to it; and though, wanting that, it was perfectly absurd, yet it produced some good fruits; for the higher classes, affecting a character superior to their fellows, ended partly in really attaining it; and Montesquieu not inaptly reckons “Honour” the ruling principle of a government built on that idea. The grotesque contrast between Struan’s acquired feudalism and the natural family affectionateness of the Highland chief to his followers comes out so strongly in his “Epitaph on his Servant,” that it would have been capital burlesque had it not been nearly blasphemous:—

“ Poor honest Dunky sleeps beneath this stone  
’Till Heaven awakes him to the Judgment Throne;  
From whence he needs not fear a dire decree,  
For want of faith to *God his king—or me.*

Tho' poor, to mean and servile arts inclined,  
 No gain could taint his probity of mind.  
 No prince, no priest, a cleaner heart could show—  
 With this great odds, that what he said was true.

For such a loss, the Eternal, unsevere  
 To human *frailty*, well permits a tear."

His "Epitaph on Himself" displays the same arrogant claims of superiority, and the unstinted laudation of self so natural in the "Lord of the Barony of Struan" and "The Chief of Clan-Donnachie"—a being above others by charter royal, a being whose pre-eminence of blood was recognised by 800 devoted subjects—a being, too, who was fully aware of the double honour of being head of the house and lord of the barony. Here is a part of the "Epitaph":—

"Tenacious of his faith to aid the cause  
 Of *Heaven's Anointed* and his country's laws,  
 Thrice he engaged, and thrice, with Stuart's race,  
 He failed ; but ne'er complied with foul disgrace.  
 Tho' some, despising Heaven's most sacred ties,  
 Perjured for interest, acquiesced to lies,  
 Clan-Donnoch's Chief maintained his reputation  
 And scorned to flourish in an usurpation.  
 Lo ! here his mortal part reposing lies,  
 Hoping once more the living man shall rise,  
 When the same pow'r breathes in the part that never dies.

\* \* \* \* \*

There is nothing dignifies so much this dust,  
 As *that, like God, he aimed at being just.*"

Struan was disposed sometimes to exert his rights of lordship in a manner not generally practised at that time in the Highlands. He would, for instance, threaten to carry any reforms he meditated into effect without caring much for the partialities of the clan, and indeed leave no

choice at all to the "vassal." His plans were, to his honour, proposed for their good, not his. Extensive reading, travelling, experience, and good sense, placed him a century at least in advance of his age. He had talents and desire for being a reformer, but lacked the sternness and perseverance that would really make him such. A whine of distress, a tale of woe, would make him at once abandon his best laid scheme. To masterful spoliation—to thieving in all its forms, the common vice of his age and country—he always pronounced himself an uncompromising foe, Still, by playing on his weakness, the depredators made him a sort of chief and protector for them.

At the time of which we are speaking, twisted twigs, or *withes*, were the universal substitutes for ropes. Cowbands, all the ties of horse-graith, &c., were generally made of withes. Before the introduction of carts, creels or panniers on the back of horses, tied with withes, were used instead; hence the Gaelic adage—"Is mithich a bhi cuir na'n gad am bogadh"—which is equivalent to, "It is time to pack up bag and baggage." Great quantities of the birchen twigs suitable for withes were yearly cut above Carie, on the property of Struan. The Laird wished to keep them for the use of his own tenants; but people from a distance often cut and took them. One man, who made quite a trade of pillaging the copse, and selling the withes in the neighbouring districts, was at last caught in the act, and brought before Struan. The Laird stormed and threatened; "he would have thieves punished; he would make him repent the day he entered his woods." But after all, the honest Laird found it easier to scold than to dispose of the depredator. "What are we to do with him?" says Struan

at last. "Do with him, Sir," answers the servant ; "take his horse from him. He is too poor ever to get another one ; and I'll be bound he'll never come to your woods again." "Take his horse from him, ye born scoundrel," responds the Laird, turning fiercely upon the servant ; "the horse is his sole means of living, and he is a careful, diligent rascal, though a knave. No ; let him have his horse, and my permission to cut withes when he likes. I wish to encourage industry if it be *honest*." Struan might have spared his indignation, for he arrived precisely at the conclusion the servant wished, though it was by pretending the very reverse he got him to it.

Like most of the Jacobites, Struan hated the Union, and counted the Scottish nobles who aided in bringing it about little better than renegades. Though rather long, and not very poetical, I would wish to quote his estimate of the different Scottish statesmen who conducted affairs under George I. and during the early part of his son's reign :—

## ADVICE TO A PAINTER.

"Limner, would you expose Albania's fate,  
Draw then a palace in a ruined state.  
Nettles and briars instead of fragrant flowers,  
Sleet, hail, and snow, instead of gentle showers :  
Instead of plenty, all things meagre look,  
And into swords turn plough-crow, scythe, and hook—  
Instead of guards, you ravenous wolves must place,  
And all the signs of government deface ;  
Instead of order, justice, and good laws,  
Let all appear confused as the first Chaos.  
Near to this palace, make on every hand  
The ruins of two noble fabrics stand—  
A Church where none but priests of Baal do stay ;



A Court of Justice filled with birds of prey.  
With a bold pencil draw the great Argyle—  
In some respects the glory of our Isle—  
Draw his intrepid heart and generous mind,  
Where nought that's base did ever harbour find ;  
But near him place his brother, and display  
With what base arts he leads his friends astray.  
Give him an air that's sullen and morose,  
Still looking downward ; his dark mind expose.  
Let Roxburgh next upon the canvas stand,  
Supported by the vilest, sordid band  
That ever did invest this wretched land,  
In proper colour paint his vicious mind,  
Which rules of honour never yet could bind ;  
Where truth and justice, banished far away,  
Revenge and falsehood bear a sovereign sway.  
Limmer, proceed ; conspicuously expose  
The chicken-hearted, narrow soul, Montrose.  
Show how he doth debase his noble line,  
Which heretofore illustriously did shine :  
Show how he makes himself a tool of State,  
A slave to avarice, to his friends ingrate.  
Tweeddale demands a place upon the stage—  
Composed and learned, though scarce attained to age.  
Time must determine how he will employ  
The talents which he largely doth enjoy.  
As from the morn the day is often guessed,  
He'll prove, I fear, a hawk, like to the nest.  
Queensberry next a station here should claim—  
O, how I tremble when I write his name !  
Will he, for what his father did, atone,  
Or will he in the same course still go on ?  
To Stair allow, as he deserves, some space,  
And round about him the Dalrymple race.  
Describe how they their sovereign did betray,  
And sell their nation's liberty away.  
Let Haddington appear, as is his due,  
Among a rakish unbelieving crew ;  
And near him place no man that has desire

T' escape the danger of eternal fire.  
 Place Sutherland, Orkney, Lauderdale, Morton,  
 Rothes, Ross, Buchan, Balhaven, Bute, Hopton,  
 All close together as a pack of fools,  
 And near to them another class of tools ;  
 When Douglas, Hyndford, Selkirk, bore some sway,  
 And Lothian won't to Forrester give way.  
 But now reserve some place for Athole's Grace,  
 In every one of these two ranks him place ;  
 Do not forget his visage to describe,  
 And fill his breast with avarice and pride.  
 Near to him let his Grace of Gordon stand—  
 For these two drakes may well go hand in hand—  
 And if you mount him on his Tuscan steed,  
 Leave him full room to gallop off with speed.  
 Finlater surely will pretend some space,  
 For he ne'er wants pretensions to a place ;  
 For this, a footman court, his friends betray,  
 Engage at night, and break his course ere day ;  
 Profound respect for every party pay ;  
 A place for him apart, assign you must,  
 For who'd be near to him, whom none would trust ?  
 If these will but reflect on what is past,  
 Give any one a stone that first will cast.  
 With these you may a canvas large supply,  
 And then to *match them* all the world defy."

Struan must have been close upon eighty when Charles landed. He was too old and feeble to take the field in person, but did all he could for forwarding the cause. He had an interview with the Prince when the latter was in Athole, and came away filled with enthusiasm for the "Young Chevalier." He blamed him, however, for his choice of commanders, and sorrowfully predicted the sad issue of the undertaking. Since their chief could not lead them, and from other reasons too, over which poor Struan had no control, the Robertsons did not fight under Charles

as a separate clan, though great numbers of them were present under the banners of neighbouring chiefs.

After Culloden, the wrath of the victors did not allow Struan to go off unpunished. His lands were ravaged, his house burned to the ground, and the feeble old Jacobite had to skulk in secret dens and woods, an outlaw for the third time. The women of Camghouran, it is said, saved him once *vi et armis* from being caught. They seized upon the officers of justice, and ducked them so well in the mill-dam that they were glad to escape with life. When under hiding, he was at times in need of the barest necessities of life. His shepherd appears, from the following, to have been his chief purveyor :—

A ROUNDEL ON STRUAN'S SHEPHERD.

“ Our shepherd is our guardian angel ;  
 When we would jouk our foes  
 He plots to put us out of danger ;  
 Our shepherd is our guardian angel,  
 And makes us feed at rack and manger,  
 In spite of George's nose.  
 Our shepherd is our guardian angel  
 When we would jouk our foes.”

In his troubles and infirmities he kept up the same stout heart, and his jovial muse was not a whit less hopeful and caustic than when, nearly sixty years before, he drew his maiden sword under Dundee. Like the rest of his countrymen, Struan appears to have taken up the strong unfounded prejudice against Lord George Murray. Let us hear the hoary outlaw's song in the woods of Rannoch :—

A BALLAD.

“ A hoary swain inured to care  
 Has toiled these sixty years,

Yet ne'er was haunted with despair,  
Nor subject much to tears :  
Whatever fortune pleased to send  
He always hoped a joyful end,  
With a fa la la la la.

He sees a champion of renown  
Loud in the blast of fame,  
For safety, scouring up and down,  
Uncertain of his aim :  
For all his speed a ball from gun  
Could faster fly than he could run,  
With a fa la, &c.

Another labouring to be great  
By some is counted brave ;  
His will admits of no debate,  
Pronounced with look so grave :  
Yet 'tis believed he is found out  
Not quite so trusty as he's stout.  
With a fa la, &c.

An action well contrived of late  
Illustrates this my tale,  
Where two brave heroes tried their fate  
In fortune's fickle scale :  
Where 'tis surmised they wisely fought,  
In concert with each other's thought.  
With a fa la, &c.

But first they knew that mountaineers  
(As apt to fight as eat)  
Who once could climb the hills like deers,  
Now fainted without meat,  
While English hearts their hunger stanch,  
Grew valiant as they crammed their paunch.  
With a fa la, &c.

Thus fortified with beef and sleep  
They waddling sought their foes,  
Who scarce awake their eyes could keep.  
Far less distribute blows.

To whom we owe the fruits of this  
Inspect who will, 'tis not amiss.

With a fa la, &c.

Tho' we be sorely now oppressed,  
By numbers driven from home,  
Yet fortune's wheel may turn at last,  
And justice back may come.  
In Providence we'll put our trust,  
Which ne'er abandons quite the just.

With a fa la, &c.

Even let them plunder, kill, and burn,  
And on our vitals prey,  
We'll hope for Charles' safe return,  
As justly so we may :  
The laws of God and man declare  
The son should be the father's heir.

With a fa la, &c.

Let wretches, flustered with revenge,  
Dream they can conquer hearts,  
The steady mind will never change,  
Spite of their cruel arts ;  
*We still have woods and rocks and men,  
What they pull down to raise again.*

With a fa la, &c.

And now let's fill the healing cup  
Enjoined in sacred song,  
To keep the sinking spirits up  
And make the feeble strong.  
How can the sprightly flame decline  
That always is upheld by wine.

With a fa la, &c."

When vengeance was glutted with the hecatombs offered on her altars, the search after Struan slackened, and he appears to have obtained a protection, for he was permitted to build a small hut on the blackened ruins of his former home, and there he died in 1749. *Requiescat in pace.*



XV.

“OFF THE M'GREGOURIS ARMES.”

“The sworde and fir-tree croceit beneath ane croun  
Are fatall signes appropriat to this race,  
By some foreseeing fellow well set down,  
Meet for such lymmars spoilzeing everie place.  
The croun presents the King's most royall Grace,  
Ane rychteous judge with skill wha does decree  
That they, and all such cut-throats, should embrace  
His severe censure for their villanie :  
To wit, gif ony frae his sworde goes free  
On-execute, continuing in the wrang,  
He will erect ane gallows of that trie,  
And theirupon them in ane wuddie hang.  
Sae far's my wits can serve, I can nocht ken  
Ane better badge for such a sort of men.

*Postscriptum.*

One thing yet rests that should their arms befit,  
*If with Sanct Johnston's ribbons they were knit.”*

*Black Book of Taymouth.*

THE above is the sarcastic description given by Master William Bowie of the heraldic symbols of the ancient Clan Gregor—“their signal for fight, which from monarchs they drew.” The legend reads very differently in the hands of a M'Gregor :—

“Sliochd nan righrean ducharach  
Bha shios an Dun-Staibhnis,  
Aig an robh crunn na-h' Alb o thus  
'S aig a bheil ducharach fathasd air.”



The M'Gregors, as is well known, claim descent from the Dunstaffnage kings, that is from Gregor, a descendant of Kenneth M'Alpin. During the whole period of the Scots-Celtic kings, they would appear, according to their own traditions, to have held extensive possessions in Argyleshire and Perthshire. Glenorchy was the seat of the chief for ages. "John de Glenurchay," the then chief, was taken prisoner by Edward I. in the battle of Dunbar, 1296, but his possessions were restored to him on condition of serving Edward in his French wars. "In the public instruments," says Mr. Gregory, "connected with the fate of the Scottish leaders captured at Dunbar, John de Glenurchay is ranked as one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*—a proof that his possessions holding of the crown were far from inconsiderable." The last of the M'Gregors of Glenorchy, original chiefs of the clan, died in 1390. In the Dean of Lismore's Obituary, written before 1550, the following entry of his death appears:—"Obitus Johannis Gregorii de Glenvrquhay, apud Glenvrquhay: Et sepultus in Dysart esc parte borientali Altaris Summi xix Aprilis, Anno Domini Mmocccolxxxx." "Death of John M'Gregor of Glenurchay at Glenurchay: and he was buried at Clachan-an-Disart, on the north side of the High Altar, the 19th April, 1390." But record evidence contradicting Mr. Gregory, and the clan traditions shows that John of Glenorchy was of the race of Somerled and that the M'Gregors were never feudal owners of that glen.

Glenlyon, the Braes of Rannoch, and considerable parts of Breadalbane, or as then styled the "Lordship of Discheour and Toyer," were largely held at one time by M'Gregors, but only as kindly tenants. It sounds, however, like an

abuse of words to call persons "kindly tenants" who appear to have squatted on these lands, and perhaps violently dispossessed others without asking the concurrence or wishing to know the will of the Crown. Length of sufferance had given security, and the frequent change of over-lords and bailies as well as revocation of Crown lands at the end of each minority, or on the occasion of civil commotions, bred an undue contempt for royal charters, and an overweening trust in coir-a-chlaidheamh, "*right of the sword*;" and thus the M'Gregors allowed the time to escape when the precious "paper rights" might have been easily obtained, and subjected themselves in time coming to over-lords, who sat too secure in the saddle for being pulled down by any opposition offered by a broken and landless race, and who were determined and knew how to enforce their charter privileges to the last iota.

We gather from the *Black Book* that the "right chiefs" became extinct before 1500. For a long period the head men of the different branches of the clan contended, as it would appear, for pre-eminence. It was only after the excesses of private men of the clan brought disgrace upon the whole name, and the formidable combinations of the Campbells, Stewarts, Menzieses, &c., under colour of punishing the perpetrators of these excesses, warned the M'Gregors that they were all on the brink of ruin, that "John Dubh" of Glenstrae was reluctantly acknowledged chief. The house of Roro appears to have claimed the honour on account of priority of descent, while the house of Glenstrae advanced the plea of proximity of blood. The Dean of Lismore and the curate of Fortingall agree in their notice of John of Glenstrae's death. It is to be borne in mind that the dean

and curate were both of the M'Gregors of Roro, and would, it is to be presumed, favour the pretensions of that house. His death is thus entered:—"Death of John M'Gregor M'Ewine, *Captain of the Gregorian tribe of Glenstrae*, who died of good memory at Achallader, in Glenurchay, on Easter day, the 12th of April, in the year 1528. He was buried in Dysart, as others of his name used to be." From this it is evident the laird of Glenstrae was acknowledged but by a section of the clan; and neither he nor any of his predecessors appears to have held land of the Crown, or of feudal superiors by charters. But they must have been Thanes or Toisich in Glenurchay before the time of feudal charters. It is in the time of disputes about the chieftainship, the M'Gregors of Roro are first found associated with John of Lorne, and as tenants of the Crown possessing the Roro Toiseachd.

As genealogical descent stands for the Highland clans in place of more accurate chronology, it is right perhaps that the genealogy of the chiefs of Glenstrae, or, as they were generally called, the Lairds of M'Gregor, should be given in this place, for otherwise any notice in the sequel would not be easily understood. It is copied from the *Black Book of Taymouth*, page 64:—

"Johne Makewin M'Allaster M'Gregour, in anno (1516?)—ravischit Helene Campbell, dochter to Sir Colene Campbell of Glenurquhay, knight. This Helene wes widow and Lady of Lochbuy, and she was ravischit. The foirsaid Johne *wes not righteous air to the M'Gregour, but wes principall of the Clan-Doulcheir.*

"This Johne M'Ewin begat upon the foirsaid Helene, Allaster M'Gregor of Glenstray, wha marriet ane dochter of the Laird of Ard-kinglass, being widow to M'Nachtane of Dundaraw.

"This Allaster of Glenstray begat upon the said dochter of the

Laird of Ardkinglass John M'Gregor of Glenstray, and Gregour Roy his brother. The said John diet of the hurt of ane arrow going betwix Glenlyon and Rannoch.

"Gregour Roy, his brother, succeeded him. The said Gregour Roy mariet the Laird of Glenlyon's (Duncan Campbell's) dochter, and begat upon hir Allaster Roy M'Gregour, and John Dow M'Gregour his brother. This foirsaid Gregour Roy M'Gregour wes execute be Colene Campbell of Glenurquhay (7th April, 1570).

"Allaster Roy M'Gregour succedit to the foirsaid Gregour his father, and had no children bot ane dochter. This Allaster Roy M'Gregour wes execute and hangit at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, and forfaultit, in anno 1604.

"John Dow M'Gregour, brother to the said Allaster M'Gregour, mariet ane dochter of the Laird of Strowan Murrayis, and begat upon hir Gregour, Patrik, and Ewin M'Gregouris. This John Dow M'Gregour wes slaine in Glenfrune be the Laird of Luss anno 1602.

"Gregour M'Gregour, sone to the foirsaid John Dow M'Gregour, that wes slaine in Glenfrune, succedit air to Allaster Roy M'Gregour his uncle. This Gregour, with consent of Patrik and Ewin M'Gregouris his brother, disponit to Sir Duncan Campbell, sevint Laird of Glenurquhay, the landis of Stronmelochan and Glenstray, for the soume of ten thousandis pundis money, 1624."

So much for the M'Gregors of Glenstrae; but it may be noticed in passing, that the Dean of Lismore tells us the above-mentioned John Makewin was the eleventh person in descent from "Kenneth, High King of Albin," and that "Duncan Doyroclych M'Dowle Vc. Oyne Reywich, had written out this from the books of the *Shenheych* of the kings, which had been made before the year 1512." What does he mean by the Senachie of the Kings? Duncan "the servitor" was the brother of the Dean of Lismore.

The family of M'Gregors of Roro held that Toiseachd, it is traditionally said, for seven generations. They were, to begin with, in some way so closely connected with John of Lorne, a M'Dougall, that they subsequently got their

traditions mixed up, and supposed Black John to be a Clan Gregor chief.

It appears the M'Gregors of Roro formed a distinct family many generations prior to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Before it was even granted out by feudal charter, they held, as "kindly tenants," that part of Glenlyon which had been afterwards included in the barony of Menzies, and over which, from 1502 to about 1680, the Lairds of Weem were the over-lords. After having colonised Rannoch under favour of the Stewarts' of Garth, the Roro chieftains severed that connection, and were friendly enough with Sir Robert Menzies and Sir Duncan Campbell, in whose favour James IV. erected the threescore markland possessed once by John of Lorne into a separate Barony, called the Barony of Glenlyon. The M'Gregors of Rannoch, Morinch, Fernan, and Fortingall, owed allegiance to the *Cean-tighe* of Roro, either directly as being descendants, or collaterally as sprung from the *Feinne* of *Iain-dubh-nan-lann*," of which band the M'Gregors of Roro, on usual clannish principles, became the captains. The first M'Gregor of Roro, of whom there is any authentic account, is—

I. Gregor, who settled in Roro about the time of his father's death, 1415, and was succeeded by his son.

II. Duncan Beg M'Gregor, known by the surname of *Donacha Lionach*. According to the *Dean of Lismore's Obituary*, and the *Chronicle of Fortingall*, he died at Roro, 1477. He had many sons, but here it is only necessary to mention two—1st, Gregor his heir; 2nd, John, styled in the *Chronicle of Fortingall* John "Duncanson," who died at Bellycht (Taymouth), and was buried at Inchadin, 10th

March, 1491 ; and his widow, Katrine Cardny, daughter of the Laird of Foss, was buried in the church of Dull before the step of the Great Altar, 14th August, 1493. Their relative, Sir James M'Gregor, Vicar of Fortingall, notary public, and Dean of Lismorc, was the first collector of Gaelic poetry that we know of. A volume of poems collected by him has been for a long time in the archives of the Highland Society. It has been inspected from time to time for special purposes, and the result communicated ; and last year, if I mistake not, an interesting lecture was delivered by Lord Neaves on the Osseanic controversy, which was mostly founded, in the peculiar lines of its argument, upon the report made by a Gaelic minister of Edinburgh upon the matter contained in this work ; but not one attempt has, it seems, yet been made to give the volume in its entirety—without adding to or taking from, and that is the only way in which a subject of the kind can be justly dealt with—to the public of Scotland so long tantalised about it.\* The *Chronicle*, written in Latin, and occupying but a few leaves of the original volume, has been printed, and contains matter of the highest interest for local genealogists. It is to be noticed in passing, that the principals of the M'Gregors of Leragan and Dunan in Rannoch, and the M'Gregors of Morinch and Fernan in Breadalbane, were severally descended from different sons of Duncan Beg.

III. Gregor M'Gregor Duncanson died at Roro, April, 1515, and was buried at Killin. He was married to a daughter of the Laird of Weem, and, as it would appear,

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\* This book, edited by Dr. Maclauchan, has long since been published.



held of his father-in-law, for during his time Roro had been included in the Barony of Menzies. This Gregor had several sons—1st, Duncan, his heir ; 2nd, James, ancestor of the Gregories of Kinardie ; 3rd, John, surnamed *Ian Mallich*, on account of his large eyebrows, ancestor of the M'Gregor-Drummonds of Balhaldie. Mallet the poet was also a descendant of *Ian Mallich*.

IV. Duncan M'Gregor, who succeeded his father, is several times noticed in the *Chronicle of Fortingall*. He is mentioned in the proclamation against several of the Clan Gregor, 10th January, 1563. He was married to a daughter of Rannald M'Couilglas of Keppoch. The proscriptions fell with great severity upon Duncan and his family. He died in captivity. One of his sons (Ewen) died of wounds received in a skirmish with the persecutors of the clan, at Croftgarrow, parish of Fortingall, 16th January, 1554, and was buried in the choir of Branvo, Glenlyon, as the curate of Fortingall observes, "*cum maxima lamentatione virorum et mulierum*," that being, I suppose, the best Latin paraphrase he could muster for *Corronach*. John Dhu More, another son, and an eminent warrior of the clan, died in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, 28th July, 1612. A grandson, Duncan in Fernan, and his cousin Allaster in Croftgarrow, son of the Ewen above mentioned, and several others of their kith and kin, were hanged with their chieftain, Gregor of Roro, and Chief Allaster of Glenstrae, for having been at the battle of Glenfruin, as well as for several enormities committed against the lands and tenants of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, 28th July, 1612. "John Dhu," M'Allaster Breac, a grandson of Duncan, styled of Stonfernan, occurs in the records along with his brother in 1589 and

1602, and likewise by himself, in the bond given to the Earl of Argyle in 1601, as a descendant of "Duncan Leonach." He was killed by John Campbell, brother of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, to whom a commission of fire and sword had been granted against the M'Gregors by Argyle, the King's Lieutenant. Campbell presented the head of "John Dhu" to the Privy Council in 1611. At the time of his death, M'Gregor had a feu of the lands of Stonfernan from Strowan Robertson, and Campbell pursued Strowan before the Council for a nineteen years' lease of his victim's feu, in terms of an Act of Council promising such tack in favour of the slayer of every outlaw M'Gregor who happened to possess lands. Strowan was adjudged to pay Campbell a compensation, and ordered to eject the widow and bairns of M'Gregor, with servants and tenants.

V. Gregor M'Gregor, eldest son of Duncan, occurs with his nephew, "John Dhu," in a commission of fire and sword, dated 4th February, 1589, against a number of the Clan Gregor for the murder of Drummond of Drummond-Ernock, the unfortunate forester of Glenartney. Gregor had a large family, most of whom sank under the vengeance of the persecutors. Gregor himself was "hangit and quarterit" at Edinburgh in 1604, with the Chief "Alester Roy M'Gregor of Glenstrae," and many other principals of the clan. He was succeeded by his son.

VI. Duncan M'Gregor, *alias* Gordon of Roro, who, on the 24th February, 1613, as the only means to protect himself from being utterly ruined under the guise of law and order by the enemies of his name and race, granted a renunciation of his lands of Roro in favour of Duncan Menzies of Comrie. In 1633 he made a second renunciation in

tavour of Alexander Menzies, son of Duncan, and took a wadset of the Mains of Roro in security for £1,000 Scots, being balance due him of the price of the property. On the 22nd May, 1630, "Duncan M'Gregor, *alias* Gordon," and John Dhu M'Gregor, *alias* Sinclair, his brother, signed a bond and letter of slaine, whereby they became bound for all the M'Gregors of their own house of Roro, to keep the peace with Robert Buchanan of Leny, and his friends, on condition the latter should pay 1,300 merks, as an as-sithment for the slaughter of three of their friends, which sum had been agreed upon by arbiters mutually chosen by both parties. Duncan had married a daughter of Duncan Campbell, Laird of Glenlyon, and was succeeded by his son.

VII. Alexander M'Gregor, who fell in the battle of In-verlochry, fighting under Montrose, 2nd February, 1645, and was succeeded by his brother.

VIII. Gregor M'Gregor of Roro, who followed Montrose through all his campaigns. On the 25th April, 1673, he obtained of Commissary John Campbell, of Glendaruel, his maternal uncle, a renewal of the Mortgage Right of the Mains of Roro, the purchase money being the same as in the transaction of 1633.

IX. Gregor M'Gregor, *alias* "John Gordon" of Roro, succeeded his father. He joined in the Rebellion of 1715, wherethrough his estate was sadly burdened. He was succeeded by his son.

X. Duncan M'Gregor, *alias* Campbell, the last M'Gregor of Roro. He followed Prince Charles in 1745, and in consequence was so much impoverished as to be under the necessity of acting as clerk to his uncle, Robertson of Tullybelton, at Perth. The wadset on the Mains of Roro

was paid off by the Earl of Breadalbane, who obtained a renunciation in his favour, 1st April, 1760, signed by Duncan Campbell, *alias* M'Gregor, and others, at Perth, where it is recorded. His two sons left for India, and were not afterwards heard of. Dr. James M'Gregor of Fonab, who is lineally descended from Duncan, uncle of the last M'Gregor of Roro, in consequence of the failure of the main stem, appears at present to be the representative of this ancient branch of the Clan Gregor.





## XVI.

DOWN to the reign of James IV. the M'Gregors, broken as they lately were into contending sections, and without a chief, had still been able to hold their own safely. The Campbells of Glenorchy, from 1452 downwards, had been gradually acquiring heritable and leasehold titles to large tracts in the Breadalbane district; but the royal and Charter-house possessions there were yet extensive, and upon these the M'Gregors held their settlements unquestioned. The Campbells, upon the lands they actually acquired, were not yet in a position to exercise coercive measures with a high hand. In 1473, John Stewart of Fortingall, and Neil his son, had a nineteen years' lease from James III. of the royal lands and lordships of Apnadull, Glenquaich, Glenlyon, Strathbrawin, and Rannoch. They held the important office of bailiary of the same lands for the period of their lease. The house of Roro, and the off-shoot branches in Rannoch, Fortingall, &c., flourished and robbed under the sway of Neil—for his father died soon after the lease was obtained. The M'Gregors amply repaid the kindness, and exhibited for Neil a degree of fidelity which was no less honourable than fatal for both parties. Neil, at the head of his own men and the faithful M'Gregors, fought fiercely for his unfortunate monarch, and relative, James III., through the last sad troubles of his melan-

choly reign. After the death of the king, Neil appears to have kept up for some time a predatory band, and to have set the M'Gregors loose upon some of the neighbouring barons who had espoused the side of the prince in the late war. Whatever compunctions James IV. might have felt for the death of his father, he did not always show friendly feelings for those who had manfully espoused his side. Neil's lease expired in 1492, and was not renewed. James IV. visited Kinloch-Rannoch and the rest of the district, and saw fit, in his royal wisdom, to confer the power which he had taken from the hands of Neil upon the Lairds of Glenorchy and Weem. In 1502, Glenorchy had a charter of the Barony of Glenlyon. A similar charter, of the same date, was granted to Sir Robert Menzies of Weem, of the north side of Loch Rannoch, at that time and long afterwards the very stronghold of the M'Gregors. Neil Stewart died at Garth, 31st January, 1499, and was succeeded by his son, also called Neil. This impetuous young man, maddened by the slight put on his house, hurled immediately, with all the relentless vigour of his forefather, the redoubtable "Wolf of Badenoch," the fiery torrent of his Highland vengeance upon Sir Robert Menzies. The M'Gregors of Rannoch, and indeed of the whole house of Roro, were his willing associates. The charter of the lands of Rannoch is dated 1st September, 1502; and in the same month, Niall Gointe of Garth, and his wild followers surprised, pillaged and burned Weem Castle, took Sir Robert Menzies prisoner, and laid all his property waste. They took with them all they could carry or drive, and what they could not take with them they burned.

The Clan Gregor cannot be traced or identified by means



of existing records beyond 1400. But when first met with they are a numerous and widely scattered tribe, devoted to warlike pursuits and cattle lifting. Their whole attitude towards law and authority is that of people who have suffered wrong and who perpetually resent it. The surname itself is not to be found in records before the beginning of the fifteenth, or near the end of the fourteenth, century. As already mentioned, Mr. Gregory's supposition that the John of Glenorchy, who lived in 1296 was, in his day, chief of the Gregorian tribe will not hold water, that John of Glenorchy was clearly a Macdougall, and a feudal baron, like his distant kinsman, the John of Lorne, who about 1370 introduced M'Gregors into Glenlyon, and probably got a M'Gregor vicar appointed to the Church of Fortingall. Still there was evidently a strong connection of some kind between those feudal barons and the Clan Gregor. The latter, I believe, were the soldiers or *Feinne* of the former, and as such possessed lands and privileges. But what were they before the Crown Thanages were granted out? Toisich and kindly tenants of the Crown no doubt. Feudalism at first did not oppress them much, because for a time they held the same relation towards the feudal baron which they had formerly held towards the King. But that state of things could not last long, and when the Clan Gregor realised the fact that feudalism would gradually displace and extinguish them they began war with authority and with society. Glenorchy was the cradle of their race, and to Glenorchy they stuck with wonderful tenacity for two centuries after John of Lorne's death. The oldest of the Clan Gregor song in the Dean of Lismore's Gaelic collection must, as internal evidence

proves, have been composed about 1480. It claims for the then head of the house of Glenstrae, descent from Toisich or Thanes, and asserts an equality of rank between the old captains of districts and feudal lords. We learn from these old songs that, from 1400 to 1500, the Clan Gregor made a great deal of peculiar history, although as yet their separate clan history had scarcely commenced. We are told that the dwellings and folds of the chieftains were full of spoils and "lifted" cattle, but on looking below the surface we can see that, as yet, the clan waged their wars as hired soldiers under the banners of contending feudal potentates. In the next century they carried on forays and wars on their own hand and under their own banner. The moan which the Monks of Scone put into one of their charters, leaves little room to doubt that the M'Gregors had squatted by force on the Charter-house lands in Breadalbane long before the end of the fifteenth century, and carried on systematic robberies. They would seem to have been much earlier than that troublers of Strathearn. To Glenlyon they were introduced as soldiers of John of Lorne, and the Stewarts of Garth planted seemingly a colony of Glenlyon M'Gregors as their soldiers, on the north side of Loch Rannoch, who being reinforced from Glenorchy and entering into brotherhood with the lawless men of Lochaber and Badenoch, gave the Government and country much trouble for two hundred years afterwards. Rannoch, if we can rely upon the silence of records, was as peaceful and orderly as any place in Perthshire, until, in an evil hour, the Stewarts of Garth placed M'Gregor Feinne in Dunan and Slismin. They were not long there before they realised the advantages of the position. They developed the

“creach” system accordingly, and defied authority. But the Fourth James was a strong ruler, and as soon as he saw the nature and extent of the evil, he took prompt measures to remedy it.

After a struggle, in which he exhibited the hereditary obstinacy of his family to the utmost, Neil Stewart finally succumbed, and about 1507 resigned his Barony of Forthingall into the hands of the Earl of Huntly.

The feudal Baron was ruined ; not so the landless Clan Gregor. Menzies, by giving his daughter in marriage to M'Gregor of Roro, attached the latter to his interest—who acknowledged Sir Robert as over-lord, and at the same time deprived the Rannoch M'Gregors of their legitimate head. For the next twenty years, the Rannoch M'Gregors are designated “brokin men of the Clan Gregour.” A leader, however, appeared in the person of the redoubtable *Duncan Ladosach* M'Gregor, related both to the houses of Roro and Glenstrae. Before this hero came upon the stage, Menzies attempted to obtain a real footing in his nominal Barony of Rannoch, by putting in effect that plan—so often tried for pacifying the rebellious districts of Scotland—of colonising the unsettled lands with new inhabitants. Being unable to effect his purpose unaided, he entered into a contract with Huntly in 1505, wherein it was stipulated, “Sir Robert's heir would marry Lady Jean Gordon, daughter of the Earl ; the lands of Rannoch would be let to Huntly for five years, during which time the latter bound himself to stock them with the best and most obedient tenants that could be found.”

Huntly's efforts proved unavailing ; for in 1523, on being charged by the Countess of Athole to expel the M'Gregor

chief from Rannoch, Sir Robert stated to the Lords of Council he could not do it, "seeing that the said M'Gregour on force enterit the said Robertis landis of Rannoche, and withaldis the samyn fra him maisterfullie, and is of far greater powar than the said Robert, and will nocht be put out be him of the saidis landis." His successors downwards obtained from the governments of the day exemption from answering for the peace of their lands of Rannoch, as the M'Gregors continued to act the part of masters therein. This was the case down at least to 1684, in which year "Sir Alexander Menzies of Weyme" obtained an exemption of the kind, and in fact their feudal investiture little availed the Lairds of Weem until the untameable race were broken to the yoke, along with the other rebellious septs, by the Dutch and Hanoverian garrisons established throughout the country after the Revolution of 1688.

When the battle of Flodden deprived Scotland of its king and leading nobility, feuds and agressions, in all parts of the country, broke out with unusual ferocity, and threatened the unfortunate realm with evils more fatal than those of the stricken field. The Laird of Struan, William Robertson, was the most conspicuous of the Perthshire chiefs who entered without check or remorse upon this course. In the Rannoch M'Gregors he found willing coadjutors, who, joined to his own men, gave Struan a "following" of upwards of 800 warlike and unscrupulous freebooters. For three years the band held together ; and though we have no detailed account of their exploits, the havoc committed must have been something unprecedented, to have drawn Buchanan's attention from the intrigues of courtiers and ecclesiastics, and to have justified the following strong

expressions of the learned historian :—" *Ante ejus adventum* (that is, Albany's arrival from France) *cum nemo unus auctoritate præcipua polleret, passim caedes et rapinae fiebant: et, dum potentiores privatas opes et factiones contrahunt, vulgus inopum, desertum, omni genere miseriarum affligebatur. Inter prædones illius temporis, fuit Macrobertus Struanns, qui per Atholiam et vicina loca, octingentis plerumque latronibus, ac interim pluribus comitatus omnia pro arbitrio populabatur.*" Struan was caught at last by guile, when sojourning with his uncle, John Crichton, and expiated his crimes at Tullymet, 7th April, 1516, which was the year after the Regent Albany's arrival in Scotland.

In these, and several raids which followed, the chief men of the clan appear studiously to have kept their hands clean ; but the caution was unavailing, and they soon found to their dismay, that the desperate deeds of the " brokin men " brought the whole clan face to face with destruction.

On the fall of Struan, *Duncan Ladosach* rallied round him the M'Gregors of Rannoch, and all the other desperadoes of the clan who wished to defy the law, or had done so already. The name of this remarkable man became a by-word ; but time had so much obliterated traditions regarding him, that, beyond the name of horror with which the mother stilled her child, little else was known about him in my boyhood. The publication of the *Black Book of Taymouth* has now, however, thrown floods of light upon the life of the daring freebooter. Among the other interesting documents included in that volume, we find, though not published for the first time, "*Duncan Laideus alias Makgregouris Testament.*" It is a poem of considerable

length, treating, in the first person, of the life of our hero. Duncan, of course, never wrote a line of it, nor is the author known. It was written, evidently, by a foeman of the clan Gregor, probably by a Campbell ; but it has great merit notwithstanding, and, except that Duncan's good qualities, if he had any, are passed over in silence, the principal passages of his exciting life seem faithfully enough preserved. Like a real will, the poem is divided into two parts, narrative and testamentary. Like most poems of that age, the *Testament* opens with allegorical personifications of the virtues and vices, and a relation of how the latter prevailed, till finally

“ Falsehood said, he made my house right strong,  
And furnished weill with meikill wrangous geir,  
And bad me neither God nor man to feir.”

And then, under the influence of this precious household, Duncan tells us how

“ First in my youthhead I began to deal  
With small oppressions and tender lambis,  
Syne with Lawtie I brak baith band and seill,  
Cleikit couplit kiddis with their damis ;  
After, fangit beafe with great hammis ;  
Then could I nocht stand content with ane cow,  
Without I got the best stirk of the bow.”

Duncan continuing in his evil courses, and to theft adding manslaughter, his misdeeds were related in the Court of that “royal prince,” King James IV., who gave orders for his capture.

“ The loud *corrinoch* then did me exile,  
Through Lorne, Argyle, Menteith and Braidalbanc ;  
But like ane fox with mony wrink and wyle,



Frae the hunds eschapis oft onslane,  
 Sae did I then, syne schupe me to remain,  
 In Lochaber with gude Ewin Alesoun,  
 Where that we wan mony ane malesoun."

Being chased from Lochaber by Archibald, Earl of Argyle, he returned to his old haunts, but the toils were everywhere set against him, and so he was made prisoner by Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. Cast into "ane dungeoun deep," and expecting merited doom, the Battle of Flodden, in which Sir Duncan fell, gave him hopes of liberty; which he soon realised by bribing his keepers :—

"Deliverit, then, of danger and of deid,  
 Lettin again unto my libertie,  
 By help of friends, keparis of that steid,  
 To whom I promissed ane pension yeirlie ;  
 But in gude faith my intent was trewlie  
 Never worde to keep of that promiss than  
 Nor yet sensyne made to nae uther man."

The meeting with his companions is so graphically described that I give it without curtailment :

"Then be the way me haistilie their meetis  
 My companions swift as ony swallows ;  
 For great blythness sittis doun and greetis,  
 Sayand, ' Maister, welcome, be Alhallows.  
 May we be hangit heich upon ane gallows  
 Gif we be not blyther of you alane.  
 Nor that we had baith God and Sanct Phillan."

'What tidings, sir,' quod I, 'frae the host ?'  
 Quod they, ' In gude faith we bide not for to lane ;  
 The King, with mony worthy man, is lost,  
 Baith Earl Archibald and Sir Duncan slain.'  
 ' Off thae tidings,' quod I, ' I am richt fain,  
 For had the King lived, or yet the Lord,  
 They had me worrit stark dead in ane cord.

Now, gude fallows, hearken what I say to you,  
 This country think I for *to rule my self*;  
 Be true to me all, theirfor, I pray you,  
 And we among us ay shall pairt the pelf,  
 And ripe, in faith, mony poor widow's skelf;  
 For she shall say that Duncan and his men  
 Have not her left the valoure of ane hen.'

Then answerit they, all with ane voice attanis,  
 'But gif we do, as thou bidst us, ay,  
 The devil tak us, saule, body, and banis,  
 Quick unto hell, withouten more delay.'  
 I hearing them thir wordis, gladlie say,  
 Sik courage could into my mind inress,  
 And soon began the commons to oppress.

Like ane wolf, greedy and insatiabill,  
 Devouring sheep with mony bludie box,  
 To the people I was als terribill,  
 Reiffand frae them mony ane cow and ox.  
 Were the grey mare in the fetter lox  
 At John Upalande's door knit fast eneuch,  
 Upon the morn he mist her to the pleuch."

The weak and troubled Regency of Albany allowed Duncan full scope to "rule the land himself," and every-thing went smooth with him in all his attempts as long as

"James mewed in Stirling's tower,  
 A stranger to respect and power."

But a storm arose when that vigorous monarch took the reins in his own hands. In 1530, James raised an army of ten thousand men, with which he swept the borders. During this expedition, "Johnnie Armstrong" and thirty-six of his men were hanged at Carlenrig. James, unwearied in punishing malefactors, and in adding terror to the administration of justice, established the Court of Session in

1532, visited the Isles in 1540, and altogether showed such determination to put down oppression and disorder in all parts of his dominions, as gave his kingdom a degree of peace scarcely known before, and fairly earned for the chivalrous monarch the endearing title of "King of all the Commons." Duncan Ladosach found, to his cost, his hand was now in the lion's mouth. In 1531, we find the following "*Memo-randum*" made by the Curate of Fortingall:—

"Rannoch was hareyed the morne efter Sanct Tennenis day in harist, be John Erle of Awthoell, and be Clan-Donoquhy (Robertsons), the yer of God ane M.vc.xxxi., and at the next Belten (May) after that, the quhylk was xxxii. yer, the bra of Rannoch was hareyd be them abown wrytyn, and Alexander Dow Albrych war heddyth at Kenloch-trannoch: the quhylk Belten and yer I coun till the cwyr of Fortyr-gill fyrst, and Alexander M'Gregor of Glenstra our scheyff (chief) was bot ane barne of xvii. yer that tyme."

John, Earl of Athole, and the Robertsons, succeeded in taking the castle in the Isle of Loch Rannoch, and in expelling thence the "brokin men of the Clan Gregour," of whom Duncan Ladosach was by this time the acknowledged leader. The Earl, however, complained next year that the expenses of the expedition, and the charge of garrisoning and keeping the castle, had not been paid him, as promised by the King, and solemnly protested that any inconvenience which might arise from the Council refusing or delaying to receive the castle from him should not be laid to his charge. This protest perhaps arose more from the Earl's fears of Duncan recovering his prize before he had been able to deliver it up to Government, and so fulfil the commission with which he was charged, than from any doubt his expenses should not be reimbursed. The same year, 1532, Athole strengthened his hand against Duncan and his

"broken men" by a Bond of Mutual Help, between John Stewart, Earl of Athole, on the one part, and Duncan Campbell of Glenurchay, and William Murray of Tullibardine, on the other, in which the said parties bound themselves, "to be gude friendis in pece and weir," the which Bond was "ackit in the officialis buikis of Dunkell, under the panis of curssing and uther censuris of Haly Kirk." Next year, 1533, James V. made a summer tour to Athole, and shortly after Duncan was outlawed and put to the horn, and as a fugitive from sharp justice was reduced to great misery. But when the King died, he was again abroad at his old work.

The Curate of Fortingall has an entry, of which the following is a translation :

"The House of Trochare in Strathbraan was burned by Alexander M'Gregor of Glenstrae, 25th August, 1545 ; on which day Robert Robertson of Strowan was captured by the same Alexander, and four of the said Robert's servants slain. '*God the Just Judge, render to every one according to his work.*'"

From the last sentence the curate gives us to understand, in his usual equivocal way, that Strowan, in his opinion at least, received only what he deserved. By this time the chief of the clan had been fairly drawn into Duncan's schemes, the cause of the "broken men" had become the cause of the clan, and thus the enormities originally committed by a few, led to the legal contamination of the whole, and by degrees subjected the entire race to extirpating vengeance. The house of Glenorchy had shown special severity to the landless tribe, and upon their heads Duncan now resolved that a full measure of wrath should fall. The Chief of Glenstrae died, and Duncan was chosen tutor by the clan. This office enabled him fully to con-

summate his former attempts to lead the whole clan into his own evil courses. There can be little doubt the murder of Alexander Ower M'Gregor of Morinch, was committed by Duncan, in revenge of the former having forsworn his allegiance to the Tutor, and having become the vassal of Campbell of Glenurchay. The M'Gregors of Roro would appear, as we shall hereafter notice, to have in a manner refused to bear Duncan's yoke, and as much as possible to have kept clear of aiding him in his misdeeds. Alexander Ower was a cadet of this unfriendly house. Should his example be followed—and the Tutor's tyrannical measures might make it contagious among the powerful sept to which Ower belonged—then farewell to Duncan's power; let the M'Gregors learn to give the calp of "Ceann-Cinne" to any other than the Laird of Glenstrae, and Duncan's authority, and the superiority of his pupil would at once become a dream; the ligatures of clanship being cut, as a race the M'Gregors would become extinct. Duncan saw the magnitude of the evil, and met it by a prompt and bloody remedy. It brought Duncan to the block, but contributed not a little to the preservation of the Clan Gregor. Allaster Ower signed the Bond of Vassalage to Colin of Glenurchay upon the 10th July, 1550, and was slain by Duncan and his son Gregor upon Sunday, the 22nd November, 1551. The slaughter of Allaster made the Campbells' cup of wrath against Duncan overflow. The Laird of Glenorchy associated the neighbouring barons, and all who had suffered from Duncan and his band, against the desperate freebooter. The issue is related by the Curate of For-tingall:—

"Slaughter and beheading of Duncan M'Gregor and his sons,

namely, Gregor and Malcom Roy, by Colin Campbell of Glenurchay, Duncan Roy of Glenlyon, and Alexander Menzies of Rannoch, and their accomplices ; on which day John Gorm M'Duncan Vc Allexander Kayr, was slain by Allexander Menzies, at . . . 16th June, 1552."

The public documents concerning Duncan's doings are reserved for another time. He it was undoubtedly that set the mark of outlawry and destruction upon the clan first, and therefore it is meet we should know as much as possible about him.







## XVII.

THE bond granted by Allaster Ower to the Laird of Glenurchay, which Duncan Ladosach so fearfully resented, is in terms as follows :—

*“ Bond of Alexander Vc Condoquhy.”*

Alexander M'Patrick Vc Condoquhy is becumyn of his awn fre will ane faythfull seruand to Collyne Campbell of Glenwrchquay and his ayris for all the dais—of his lyftyme—incontrar all—personnis, the authorite beand excepit alanerly, baytth till ryde and gang on horsse and on futt, in Hieland and Lawland, upon the said Collyns expenses—And gif it happinnys ony differance—betwixt the said Collyne his ayris and M'Gregour his cheyff—the said Alexander sall nocht stand with ane of them, bot he sall be an evinly man for baytth the parties—Attour the said Alexander hes maid—the said Collyne and his ayris his—assingnais—to—his takys—of ony landis and specially of the ten merkland of Wester Morinch, now occupyit be the said Alexander and his subtennants. And also has nominat—the said Collyne and his ayris—his executoris and intromettouris with all—his gudis—mowbile and immowbile that he happinis to hef the tyme of his decess and that in cace he hef na barnis lewand at that tyme lauchtfully gottyn—For the quhilk the said Collyne and his ayris sall—defend the fairsaid Alexander in all—his just actionys—the authorite, my Lord of Argyle and their actionis alanerly excepyt. *Acta erant haec apud insulam de Lochthay horam circiter secundam post merediem—presentibus ibidem Alexandro Menzes de Rannocht, Joanne M'Emeweyr et magistro Willelmo Ramsay notario publico testibus—10 Julii 1550.*

The public indictment of Duncan Ladasoch and his son, is supplied by the learned editor in the preface to the *Black Book*. Mr. Innes says :

On the 26th Nov. 1551, "The Queen's advocate set forth that : " Duncan Laudes and Gregour his sone recently, namely, upoun Sounday the 22nd day of November instant, at sex houris at even, under silence of nycht, be way of hamesukin cam to the hous of Alaster Owir alias M'Gregoure, servand to Colyne Campbell of Glenurquhay of the landis of Moreis, and be force tuke him furth of his said hous, and be way of murthure straik him with whingearis and crewellie slew him, and spulzeit and tuke fra him his purs, and in it the soume of forty poundis : and incontinent thireftir past to the landis of Killing to the hous of ane pure man callit Johne M'Bayne Pipare, and thair assegit the said hous and brak the durris thair of, and be force tuke the said Johne furth of the samin, and straik his heid fra his body and crewellie slew him, and gaif him divers uther straikis with whingearis in his body."

Government having outlawed and put him to the horn, exhausted in these legal formalities the powers of vindicating its authority possessed by it *per se* ; and the more difficult part of making the Highland robber suffer the punishment of a rebel and outlaw was devolved upon the powerful and willing enemy of the clan, Colin Campbell, Laird of Glenorchy. In virtue of the bond of submission, he was the feudal representative and avenger of the murdered Alaster Ower ; for unfortunately for the administration of justice and equal protection of all subjects, whatever sounding expressions to the contrary might be found in the statute-book, and in the *dicta* of jurists, the most glaring crimes and misdemeanours were yet looked upon as merely affecting private parties, and were treated and settled accordingly ; as violations of law and equity, they had scarcely been yet recognised to be crimes against the common welfare of society, and to be prosecuted and avenged as such. "Colene, Sext Laird of Glenurquhay," the "*Cailean Liath*" of Highland story, was, according to

the compiler of the *Black Book*, and he knew well, as he wrote under the eye of Colin's son and successor, "Laird induring the space of threttie-thre zeiris, in the quhilk tyme he conquest the few of the kingis landis and Charter-hous landis in Braydalbane *the tackis quhairoff* his predecessouris obtenit, as is above written." In addition to this he had acquired the "superioritie of M'Nab his haill landis." He was actual possessor of the greater part, and with the exception of Struan's small Barony of Fernay or Fernan, and a few other small bits of land, was Lord superior and Bailie of the different Baronies and Lordships of Breadalbane. With the most ample feudal privileges, and though his predecessors had land and manrent in the district for nearly a century, he was still but a stranger in a strange land, in which his footing was but precarious, and the authority granted by the King far from being satisfactorily acknowledged and obeyed. At that time the feudal charter, until the title of the holder was recognised and confirmed by the so-called vassals, according to the old Celtic custom—that is, by acknowledging or adopting him as chief, and granting him the *calp* of chieftainship—was little else than a piece of useless parchment. A landlord, in order to have the use and mastery of his possessions, must either conciliate or extirpate the inhabitants. The Laird of Glenorquhy was not in a position to adopt the latter alternative, and he therefore eagerly and skilfully seized upon the former. Breadalbane was at the time inhabited mostly by several old colonies or sections of distant clans, who had come under the auspices of different lord-superiors to occupy the places of those ancient inhabitants upon whom confiscation and death had fallen on account of their ac-

cession to the long-sustained and to Bruce almost fatal opposition of M'Dougall of Lorn. The inhabitants of Breadalbane were thus made up from five or more separate sources, and except the M'Nabs—a supposed branch of the clan Gregor—none of the sections had a chieftain. This gave the Laird of Glenurchy the precious opportunity of establishing his judicial authority, and the band of manrent and calp of Ceann-Cinne naturally followed, from men alive to feelings of gratitude, for having been by the aid of the Bailie rescued from oppressors and confirmed in their rights. Every act of judicial authority added, what was both absolutely necessary for the safe exercise of that authority and the gradual vindication of feudal possession, a willing recruit to the standard of the "justiciar." It may sound strange to present landlords that, three hundred years ago, a proprietor could exercise no privilege of property till mutual kindness produced a bond of brotherhood between him and his vassals, till a democratic election confirmed the royal charter, and the calp of clanship superseded the feudal infeoffment. No suspicion appears then to have crossed the Celtic mind that despicable parchment right to the soil was sufficient to confer the personal pre-eminence which, in the absence of hereditary chiefs, they, even they, with their wild notions of unrestrained freedom, had, for the sake of internal union, and for giving edge to defensive or offensive policy, found it at all times requisite to support, but which as uniformly they had insisted upon creating for themselves, through means of a rude election, while otherwise stubbornly refusing to receive the current coins of dignity and authority, ready made to hand by the royal mint. The sons of the Gael were no Macsycophants indoctrinated

in the sublime art of "booing;" feudalism, therefore, cunningly enveloped her crest in Highland tartan, and invoked obedience and love by the strict observance of clannish customs; nor was it until the middle of the eighteenth century that she finally dropped the mantle, and Highlanders bent before the hat of Gessler.

With such reasonable hopes of consolidating his rights and doubling his manrent, by the extending acknowledgment of his judicial character, it is not wonderful the Laird of Glenorchy should see with rage, and meet with animosity, whatever threatened to stop him in that progress. The M'Gregors sinned in this line beyond the hope of forgiveness. The families of the clan on Glenorchy's lands were taught to look for the redress of injuries, not to the baron-superior and his court, but to the distant and almost landless chief of the M'Gregors; nay, did they incline of their free will to choose the nearer and surer protection, the fate of Allaster Ower was an awful warning to all intending to betray Clan Alpin's pine. The murderous "whingearis" stopped the progress of Glenorchy, who resolved to quench the sudden terror in the heart blood of the author. The murder was committed on the 22nd November, 1551, and four months after, the 11th March, 1551 (for the new year commenced in the latter end of March), the following bond was signed—viz.:

"Be it kend till all men, us James Stewart, sone to Walter Stewart of Ballindoran, Alexander Dormond, and Malcome Dormond, yonger, to have gevin our band of manrent to Colline Campbell of Glenurquhay and his airis; Duncane Campbell, sone and apperand air to Archibald Campbell of Glenlioun, and his airis; for all the days of our lyvetye in all actionis. And in speciale that we sall depone ourselfis at our haill power, wytht our kyn freyndis and part-takaris

to invade and persew to the deid Duncane Laudossch M'Gregour, Gregour his sone, thair seruandis, part-takaris, and complices in all bundis and contreis quhare ever thai sall happyn to mak resydens, be reasoun that thai are our deidlie enemies and our Souerane Ladei's rebellis, &c. &c. At the Ile of Lochtay, 11th March, 1551."

This bond may have possibly been the cause of the horrible slaughter of Drummond of Drummond-Ernock in after years.

While the old fox appeared beset on all hands, and Glenorchy breathed nothing but death and revenge, lo! unexpectedly, a change comes o'er the spirit of the dream:—

"Be it kend till all men—Me Colyne Campbell of Glenurquhay grants me to have ressavit Duncane M'Gregour and Gregour his sone in my menteinance—in all—thair—just—actions—in so far as I may of law, and gude conscience. And atour to have forgevin—the saidis Duncane and Gregour—thair servandis complices and part-takers, *the zeill of luf and gude conscience* moving me to the samyn, all maner of actionis—and faltis that ony of them hes committit to me—providing alwais that the saidis Duncane and Gregour—fulfil thair band and manrent—maid to me and my airis in all pointis. Forquhilkis—grantis me to have given—to the saidis Duncane and Gregour—thair eschetis of all thair gudis movabill and unmovabill, quhilkis—I purchist at my Lord Governouris handis, tha beand for the tyme our Sourane Ladeis rebellis, and now ressavit to hir heines peace and my favouris—In witnes herof I—hes subscriuit this my letter of menteinance at the Ile of Lochtay the secund day of Maii the year of God M. vc. fifty tua yeris befor thir witnes Alexander Menzies of Rannocht, Patrick Campbell, David Toscheocht," &c.

As the names are not retained, I do not know whether or not the following legend explains the sudden change on the part of the Laird to mercy's side:—M'Gregor of Dunan, in Rannoch, had committed great herships on the lands of the Campbells in every direction, and particularly on those



of Campbell of Glenorchy. The latter did all in his power to take him dead or alive ; but M'Gregor, notwithstanding, not only eluded his enemy, but continued to commit greater depredations. At last Glenorchy offered terms of amity and peace, and proposed a conference at the newly-built Castle of Balloch (Taymouth) with a certain number of friends on both sides, to settle disputes and ratify the relations of friendship into which the parties were about to enter. Glenorchy did all this deceitfully, thinking thus to capture M'Gregor and his principal followers when off their guard. M'Gregor, not suspecting the snare, set off for Balloch at the time proposed, accompanied by the number of men agreed upon. On the top of Drummond, the hill overhanging the castle and meadows of Taymouth, they encountered an old man, who, on bended knees, before a huge grey stone, appeared to be repeating his orisons in a state of great perturbation. Struck with a thing so unusual, M'Gregor, drawing near, discovered the old man was repeating the prayers for the dead, with which ever and anon the following sentence mixed—"To thee, grey stone, I tell it, but when the black bull's head appears, M'Gregor's sword can hardly save the owner's fated head. Deep the dungeon—sharp the axe—and short the shrift." M'Gregor saw at once the toils were set for him, and that the old man had taken this round-about way of apprising him of the vile conspiracy, for fear of the Laird, and in consequence of being sworn to secrecy. He proceeded on his way, however. Glenorchy received him with the most cordial appearance of kindness. Dinner was laid for them in the great hall of the castle, each Campbell having a M'Gregor on his right hand—a circumstance giving the latter a very

decided advantage in the *melee* which followed. The introduction of the black bull's head, and a simultaneous clatter of armed men in an adjoining chamber, put the M'Gregors into an attitude of defence. Snatching the dagger stuck in the table before him, which a few moments previous he had used in cutting his meat, M'Gregor held its point within an inch of the heart of Glenorchy, while with the other hand he compressed his throat. His men following promptly the example of the leader, a scene ensued not unlike that in which Quentin Durward was chief actor in the hall of the Bishop of Liege, with this difference, however, that the M'Gregors carried off captive the Baron and some of his principal retainers ; the armed vassals, at the earnest request of the Baron himself, whose life the least attempt on their part to rescue him would endanger, offering no resistance. M'Gregor crossed by the boat at Kenmore, dragged his captives to the top of Drummond, and there and then forced Glenorchy to subscribe an ample pardon and remission for all past injuries, and a promise of friendship for the future. The tradition does not inform us whether the Laird kept to his promise or not ; and, indeed, from the omission of names it is otherwise an uncertain guide ; but it would harmonise well with the character of Duncan Ladosach, not less renowned for cunning than courage, to act the part of the M'Gregor of the story ; and upon the whole, it is not improbable the remission already given was extorted in some such way from *Cailean Liath* of Glenurchay.

The foreseen result followed upon Duncan's death. It removed the fear which deterred the separate chieftains and leading men from submitting to feudal superiors, and

thereby the ligature of clanship was broken for the time, and the clan lost for some years the commanding attitude of unbroken union, consequent upon implicit obedience to the rule and behests of the natural chief or his representative. The M'Gregor, almost yet a child, became, on the death of the Tutor, a ward of the Campbells; and on coming to man's estate, he soon discovered the self-constituted guardians had so well employed the opportunities afforded in his years of nonage, that his authority over the clan had been sadly undermined, and his personal consequence had shrunk considerably. It may be worth while to notice some of the leading M'Gregors who made their submission to Glenorchy within a month or two after Duncan's execution.

"At the Isle of Lochtay, 3d August, 1552.—William M'Ocallum, in Rannocht, Malcum his sone, and Donald Roy M'Ocallum Glass, bindis and obleissis thame, &c. to be afald servantis to Colyne Campbell of Glenurquhay, and to his airis mail quhom thai haif elecht and chosyn for thair cheyffis and masteris, renunceand M'Gregour thair chief," &c. &c.

4th August, 1552.—Malcum M'Aynmallycht (son of 'John the cursed'—probably called so on account of being excommunicated by the Church), William and Malcum M'Neill VcEwin and Duncane thair brother, renouncing M'Gregour thair chief, bind themselves to Colyne Campbell of Glenurquhay giving him thair calps; the said Colyne being bound to defend them in thair possessions, or to give them others within his own boundis."

21st August, 1552.—"Gregour M'Gregour, son of the deceased Sir James M'Gregour, Dean of Lesmoir," &c. &c.

9th September, 1552.—Donald Beg M'Acrom, Duncane and Williame his brothers, dwelling in the bray of Weyme, bind themselves to Colyne Campbell, having overgiven the Laird of M'Gregour," &c. &c.

21st December, 1552.—"Duncan M'Andrew in . . . Duncane & Malcum his sons, renounce the Laird M'Gregour," &c. &c.

M'Gregor of Roro's bond to the same effect appears to have been lost ; but from the terms of a subsequent one, granted in 1585 by the head of that house, there is every proof that "Duncan Gour" (Gour or *Gear* signifies short) had been as submissive as the rest. The Laird of Glenorchy did not confine his views to simply obtaining the fealty and subjection of the M'Gregors residing on his own lands and within the bounds of his proper jurisdiction ; on the contrary, three of the preceding bonds were granted by parties that in the eye of the law owed the duty of vassals to the Lairds of Struan and Weem. When the M'Gregors had a little time to recover from their consternation the bonds were no longer granted, or, if granted, were worded as the following, in far less unqualified terms : — "Bond by Duncane M'Alyster VcEwyn in Drumcastell (Rannoch) to Colyne Campbell of Glenorchy—*his allegiance to the Queen's Grace and M'Gregor his chief being excepted*—disponing to the said Colyne Campbell the best four-footed beast that shall be in his possession in time of his decease and latter end, and called his calp," &c. &c.





## XVIII.

THE youthful Gregor, when he reached manhood in 1560, found the clan prostrate at the feet of Glenorchy, who laid the cope-stone upon all other injuries by refusing to enfeoff the young chief in his little patrimony of Stronmelochan and Glenstrae, the superiority of which Glenorchy had bought from the house of Argyle in 1554. Breaking the bonds by which not a few of them were fettered, the clan instinctively rose to revenge the culminating affront to their chief; and in the hour of vengeance following years of oppression, perpetrated enormities scarcely inferior to the cruelties practised by American Indians upon vanquished foes.

The man they had to deal with was more than their match. Colin of Glenorchy was not the coward to shrink effeminately before the storm of savageness, by his firm, far-seeing policy provoked. On both sides it was professedly a war of extermination, and at first the M'Gregors had the advantage, but soon the foe, as 'twere by magic art, "summoned spirits from the vasty deep," and unexpected actors came upon the stage. In 1563 the ravages of the M'Gregors having, apparently, extended over the whole central and western Highlands and adjacent parts of the Lowlands, induced the Secret Council to issue against them a commission of fire and sword. The following were the commissioners:—The Earl of Moray in

Braemar, Badenoch, Lochaber, Strathnairn, and Strathdearn; the Earl of Argyle in Argyle, Lorn, Lennox, and Menteith; the Earl of Athole in Athole, Strathardle, Glen-shee, and Dunkeld; the Earl of Errol in Logiealmond; Lord Ogilvy in the Brae of Angus; Lord Ruthven in Strathbraan; Lord Drummond in Strathearn; Colin Campbell of Glenorchy in Breadalbane and Balquhiddy; and John Grant of Freuchy in Strathspey, Strathavon, and Brae of Strathbogie. Colin of Glenorchy, at the same time, was armed with a separate and additional commission of fire and sword against the *harbourers* of the Clan Gregor in whatever part of the kingdom they were found—"a proof," as Mr. Gregory truly observes, "that the Secret Council not only neglected to provide a place to which the Clan Gregor might when ejected from their homes retire, but absolutely attempted to exclude them from every spot on which they might on retiring seek shelter or even existence." The separate commission was cancelled within two years on a remonstrance presented by the barons of Strathearn. The general commission was likewise recalled, or superseded by a new one issued in 1564 to only two of the former commissioners, the Earls of Argyle and Athole; these being allowed to grant subordinate ones to their friends and dependents.

Colin of Glenorchy, in putting down the clan, acted freely upon the old proverb, "set a thief against a thief," or rather anticipated by fully two centuries the fundamental maxim of homeopathy—" *Similia similibus curantur*." To catch the thieves of Rannoch and Breadalbane he used the thieves of Keppoch and Glencoe; for curing the body



politic of the M'Gregor-fever, he skilfully prescribed a dose of M'Donnell-bark.

We have already seen the Laird of Weem, immediately upon a charter of the lands of Rannoch being signed in his favour, constituting Huntly special constable to bring his newly-acquired domain into a condition compatible with the brooking of his rights as lord and master. Enough has also been told of Duncan Ladosach and the "brokin men" to show how ill Huntly had succeeded. Menzies, unable to cope with the M'Gregors, granted again a tack of the most rebellious part of the Barony to Campbell of Glenorchy, who, if not so powerful as the "Cock of the North," was at least a nearer auxiliary and a more determined foe to the clan. It was uphill work, but by-and-bye Duncan Ladosach slept quietly in his bloody grave in the kirkyard of Fortingall; one M'Gregor submitted after another, and all appeared to go on in Rannoch as elsewhere, "merry as a marriage bell," when lo! one morning in 1560, the Laird of Glenorchy saw the clan like the Phoenix rising from its funeral pyre, and the laborious scheming of years "dissolving like the baseless fabric of a vision." The perplexed baron seized upon the first help which offered itself, and here is the curious result:—

"Contract between Glenurchay & Cappycht," (*i.e.*, Keppoch). "At Balloch the xxv day of Aprile, M. vc. lxiii yeris. It is agreit betwix Colyne Campbell of Glenurquhay on that ane part, and Rannald M'Rannald M'Couilglas off Cappycht on that uther part, in manner following: The said Colyne havand of our Souerane Lady the gift of escheit of the Clangregour now being our Souerane Ladies rebellis of their tackis rownmis stedings guidis and geir: and als havand of the Lard of Weyme in lifrent, the twelf merkland of Rannoct, on the west syde of the water of Erachtie—to haif set in assedation to

the said Rannald his airis maill and subtenentis of nay hiear degre nor hymself the twenty pound of Rannocht, auld extent, with their pertinentis, with *the Loch, Ile & fishingis* of the samyn for all the days that the said Colyne or his airis hes entres to the forsaidis sandis, with cornis, crop, plennesinge upoun the saidis landis, *except the gudis and geir within Glencho, and my Lord of Ergile's bundis, pertening to the said Colyne be escheit (? ? ?)* : witht power to set the saidis landis to subtenentis of lawer degre nor hymself, of ony surname —(the Clangregour alanerlie except)—payand yeirlie for the forsaid twelf merkland of Rannocht, tene poundis maill to the said Colyne during his lyvrent ; and als for the landis on the est syde of Erachtie, during the gift of the tackis of the said Colyne escheit malis and deweteis usit and wont conforme to the payment that M'Gregour suld haif maid to the Lard of Weyme." [Colin then binds himself and heirs to do all in their power towards getting a renewal of tacks, &c., in favour of Rannald.] "And the said Rannald sall labour and manure the forsaidis landis of Rannocht, and mak his principal residens thairupon, ay and quhill he may bring the samyn to quietnes for the common weill of the cuntre ; and sall nocht suffer ony of the Clangregour to haif entres and intromission of the forsaid landis and als sall keip the forist and woddis, and the inhabitants sall serve the said Colyne and airis. Atour the said Rannald and his airis forsaidis, oblisses thame to persew at thair utmost power samony of the Clangregour as ar now our Souerane Ladies rebellis, and apprehend and bring thame to the said Colyne and his airis to be punesit according to the lawis : And in cace thay may nocht be tane, to be slane according to our Souerane Ladies commission gevin thairupon for stanching of sik malefactouris," &c. A fortnight after, 6th May, 1563, was signed a "Contract of protection and manrent, between Collyne Campbell of Glenurquhay and *John Oyg M'Ane Abrycht of Glencho* ; the said Collyne being bound to defend the said John Oyg M'Ane Abrycht in his possessions, and specially in his landis of Glencho : and the said John Oyg M'Ane Abrycht being bound to serve the said Collyne Campbell against all persons, excepting the authority and my Lord of Argyle, providing, that if he will not instantly serve against the Clangregour his contract shall be void."

Cameron, tutor of Glennevis, also offered help from the same quarter. Argyle and the principal men of his house

signed a bond to Glenorchy, against the Clangregour, at "Inneraray, 9th July, 1564, by which the west was sealed up to the hapless race. In the south, the Clanlaurane of Balquhiddel—mortal enemies of the name of M'Gregor, ever since, as Duncan Ladosach confesses in his "Testament" of them,

" In the passioun oulk into Balquhiddel  
Seven and twenty we slew into the place  
Be fyre and sworde : thai gat na uther grace"—

had chosen Colin Campbell their chief by a bond dated 11th March, 1559, and now did yeomanly service in the war with the old foe. A "Contract against the Clangregour signed at Balloch 6th May, 1569, be Johne Earl of Athole, James Menzies of that Ilk, William Stewart of Grantullie, and their kin and friends," closed the circle on the north and east, so that from his central position in the Isle of Lochtay, Glenorchy watched the vibrations of the network securing the victims as they were successively and successfully enmeshed.

A fierce enemy of the clan employed at this time by Glenorchy was *James Mac an Stalkair* or Robertson, several stories of whose prowess are yet extant, and regarding whom these curt notices occur in the *Chronicles of Fortingall*:—

"*Necatus fuit Patricius M'Ayn vc. Cowill vc. Ayn per Jacobum M'Gestalc ar dpud Ardewynnek, septimo die Decembris (1564), et sepultus octavo die eiusdem apud Inchadin in tumulo patrueli.*"  
"Patrick M'Ayn Vc. Cowill Vc. Ayn, slain by James M'Gestalc ar at Ardeonaig, on the 7th December (1564), and buried at Inchadin on the 8th of the same month, in his uncle's grave."

There is no need of cumbering ourselves with the original of the next entries, a version shall suffice :—

“Gregor, son of the Dean of Lismore, *alias* M'Gregor, and Robert MacConil Vc. Gregor, were slain on the 11th June, viz., on the day of Pentecost, after midnight, and their house was burned by James M'Gestalcarr and his accomplices year of our Lord 1565 : they were buried in the same grave in the choir of Inchadin. God is the just judge, knowing what is hidden, and punishing according to His will, even to the third and fourth generation.”

Gregor was one of the revolted bond-granters : and therefore was early visited with a full vial of Glenorchy's wrath ; the chief of Glenstrae, for the very opposite reason, had every motive to protect, and when that was impossible, to revenge him. Accordingly the next entry in the curate's book is the following :—

“James M'Gestalcarr Vc. Phatrik and his accomplices put to death by Gregor M'Gregor of Stronmelecan and his followers at Ardeonaig, 24th July, 1565 : He was a very wicked wretch, and an oppressor of the poor ; whence it is said, thou shalt not suffer evil-doers to live upon the earth.”

In a short note in the vernacular the curate finally sums up the troubles of the same year, 1565 :

“Gret hayrschyppis in mony pairts of Scotland, in Stratherne, in Lennox, in Glenalmond, in Braydalbin, baytht slattyrr and oppessyon beand mayd in syndry udyr partis be the Erll of Ergill and M'Gregor and ther complotis. Siclyk in Strathardil mony men slayn be the men of Atholl and the Stuarts of Lorn.”

M'Gregor from the commencement of the feud, was fighting in a desperate cause ; and when, as described, the bands of coalition were tightened and secured in 1569, his

doom could easily be foretold without any illumination from the second sight. M'Gregor, when a ward of the Campbells, had been consigned to the care of the Laird of Glenlyon, who honourably and kindly discharged the duties of a guardian. At this early period a mutual attachment, destined to have a lasting influence on the fates of both, and in its ultimate results comprising materials for a bloody tragedy, sprung up between the young chief and the daughter of the Laird. It does not appear that Glenlyon frowned upon the youthful lovers ; nor, perhaps, had the policy of his clan, and chiefly that of the Glenorchy branch, with which he was most nearly allied, left him a free agent, would he have sought a better son-in-law than the heir of Glenstrae. The Laird's name occurs in the combination against Duncan Ladosach ; nay, he was present subsequently at the death of Gregor himself, for which he earned the curse of his daughter ; but in these matters he could not help himself, and his true sentiments towards the persecuted clan are much better learned from the fact, that it was in the heat of the feud with Glenurchay "Gregour Roy marriet the Laird of Glenlyoun's dochter." True enough, tradition confidently affirms M'Gregor had been with purposed treachery entangled by the Campbells into a matrimonial net ; but as this is coupled with another assertion equally unhesitating, that it was "*Black Duncan with the cowl*" who had given his daughter to the M'Gregor—a fact which the "Black Book" and every other contemporary authority prove to be utterly groundless—the known incorrectness of the latter assertion leaves nothing of credit to the former. Still, with all its confusion of dates and persons, there is clearly in the story some infusion of truth.

The Clan Gregor, after the first flush, languished in their efforts, while the exterminating energy of their foes daily gathered strength. Unable to keep the field openly, they gradually sank into that state denoted by the old Proverb, of being "men with their heads under the wood," and carried on a skulking predatory warfare of *creachs* and spulzies by small bands operating in different places at the same time, thus obliging their enemies to divide for the sake of self-protection ; and so rather risked being cut off in detail than hazarded any general engagement in which the warriors of the clan might all be cut down. "*Duncan with the Cowl*," the son and heir of Glenorchy, was in the latter years of the feud at the head of his father's men, and tasked all his cunning to capture M'Gregor, knowing if deprived of their chief the clan might resume the yoke of servitude to the family of Glenorchy which they now so indignantly spurned. Ascertaining that Gregor frequently visited his spouse, and that in spite of his bond to the contrary the Laird of Glenlyon connived at the stolen interviews, and if not actually assisting, always allowed the rebel to escape ; "Black Duncan " laid his plans so as to astonish all parties, and having secretly dogged his steps, captured at last the unfortunate chief in Glenlyon, when enjoying a fancied security in the embraces of his wife.

Gregor was taken in August, 1569, and it was probably owing to the efforts made by the Glenlyon family that his life was spared until the following spring. In the interval great events for Scotland occurred. Regent Murray was assassinated on the 23rd January, 1570. The Queen's party prepared to raise the standard of revolt. The state of the nation probably hastened M'Gregor's fate. Glenorchy



and the barons associated with him had injured the M'Gregors too deeply for reconciliation ; and, therefore, unless crushed, they knew the desperate clan, in the civil commotion which appeared then inevitable, would strike right and left, independent of political factions, blows of sweet revenge upon all enemies. The execution of Gregor was skilfully surrounded with all the pomp and circumstance of justice. It is simply entered by the Curate of Fortingall—"The vij. da of Apryll, Gregor M'Gregor of Glensra heddyt at Belloch *anno* sexte and ten yeris." The compiler of the *Black Book*, in recording the life and deeds of "Colene Sext Laird of Glenurquhay," ushers it in with a flourish of trumpets:—

"He (Colin) was ane great justiciar all his tyme, throch the quhillk he sustenit the deidlie feid of the Clangregour ane lang space. And besydes that he caused executt to the death mony notable lymmaris, he beheiddit the Laird of M'Gregour himself at Kandmoir in presence of the Erle of Atholl, the Justice-Clerk, and sundrie uthir nobillmen."

To this worshipful company the daughter of Glenlyon—who clung with affectionate tenacity to the husband hunted and hated by her powerful kinsmen, and now condemned to undergo a rebel's doom—came to implore forgiveness and mercy. It was too late ; the deed was done, the victim immolated. "Black Duncan," yet a mere youth, but cruel and cunning from the cradle, when she broke out into wailing lamentation, sneeringly comforted his hapless cousin with an assurance that she would soon be married to the Baron of Dall (a MacOmie, or "Son of Thomas") and as his wife forget the rebel M'Gregor !

With this lady, M'Gregor had two sons—viz., Allaster Roy M'Gregor who was shamefully betrayed by Argyle,

and executed and hanged at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, 1604 ; and " John Dow," who fell at the battle of Glenfruin, fighting against the Laird of Luss, in the year 1603. " John Dow," or *Black John*, was, it would seem, born after his father's execution ; and it was in the form of a lullaby for her posthumous child that the grief-blighted mother couched the tale of sorrow, so pathetic, although deeply tinged with the barbarous madness of misfortune. The song referred to is the following :—

" On Lammas morn I rejoiced with my love : ere noon my heart was pressed with sorrow.

" Ochain, ochain, ochain uiridh,  
Sad my heart my child :  
Ochain, ochain, ochain, uiridh,  
Thy father hears not our moan !

" Under ban be the nobles and friends who pained me so : who un-awares came on my love, and overmastered him by guile. Ochain, &c.,

" Had there been twelve of his race, and my Gregor at their head, my eye would not be dim with tears, nor my child without father. Ochain, &c.

" They laid his head upon an oaken block : they poured his blood on the ground : *oh ! had I there a cup I would drink of it my fill !* Ochain, &c.

" Oh ! that my father\* had been sick, and Colint† in the plague, and all the Campbells in Balloch wearing manacles. Ochain.

" I would have put ' Gray Colin ' under lock, and ' Black Duncan ' in a dungeon, though Ruthven's daughter‡ would be wringing her hands. Ochain, &c.

" I went to the plains of Balloch, but rest found not there : I tore the hair from my head, the skin from my hands. Ochain, &c.

" Had I the wings of the lark, the strength of Gregor in my arm, the

\* Duncan Roy of Glenlyon.

† Her Brother Cailean Gorach.

‡ Catherine, daughter of William Lord Ruthven, second wife of " Cailean Liath " and mother of "*Black Duncan with the cowl*."

highest stone in the castle would have been the one next the ground. Ochain, &c.

"Oh! that Finlairg were wrapt in flames, proud Taymouth lying in ashes, and fair-haired Gregor of the white hands in my embrace! Ochain, &c.

"All others have apples; I have none: my sweet lovely apple has the back of his head to the ground. Ochain, &c.

"Other men's wives sleep soft in their homes: I stand by the bedside wringing my hands. Ochain, &c.

"Better follow Gregor through heath and wold, than be with the mean little Baron of Dall in a house of stone and lime. Ochain, &c.

"Better be with Gregor putting the cattle to the glen, than with the mean little Baron drinking wine and beer. Ochain, &c.

"Better be with Gregor under sackcloth of hair, than wear silken sheen as the mean Baron's bride. Ochain, &c.

"Though it snowed and drifted, and was a day of sevenfold storm, Gregor would find me a rock, in whose shelter we might lie secure.

"Ba hu, ba hu, my orphan young,  
For still a tender plant art thou,  
And much I fear the day won't come  
When thou shalt earn thy father's fame."





XIX.

BY the death of Gregor, the clan was left again without a head or rallying point. Some immediately granted anew bonds of manrent and submission to the barons on whose lands they resided. Another party, headed by Patrick, grandson of Duncan Ladosach, scornfully refused any compromise, and struck redoubled blows of vengeance on the traitors to the spirit of clanship, who yielded to the demands of Glenorchy or any other. Three months after the execution of the chief, the band, led by Patrick, came upon a company of Glenorchy's men in Glenfalloch, and slew eighteen of them and their captain. Two weeks after this exploit, the same lawless leader committed the following atrocity on two of the principals of the Stronfernan M'Gregors, who had granted bonds to *Cailean Liath* :—

"The xxiiij da of September, the yer of God ane thousand five hundyr sexte xij yeris, Allestyr M'Allestyr and his son, ane yonge barne of sevin yer ald, callyt Gregor, and Duncan, brodyr tyl Allestyr, al slain in Stronferna be Patryk Dow M'Gregor V'Condoquhy Lawdossyt, with his complexis, and be the drath of Allestyr Gald M'V'Gregor. The saidis Allestyr and his son and brodyr zyrdyth in Fortyrgill the awcht and xx da of September, *Si bene fecit sic habuit.*"

*Black Patrick* wished clearly to grasp the vicarious sceptre of regent or tutor of the clan, wielded by his father during the minority of the preceding chief ; but the clan as a whole refusing to support his pretensions, he never got

beyond being captain of the "broken men." With the help of these, he kept up for a few years a widespread system of spoliation and outrage through the districts of Strathearn, Breadalbane, Athole and Lennox. The feudal barons cut off his band in detail. One of his principal subordinates, Donald Dow M'Conil V'Quhewin, was "heddyt at Kenmore be Collyn Campbell of Glenurquhay, the sevint da of Apryl, 1574." This man possessed the lands of Duneaves in Fortingall, and we shall have to say more of one of his descendants in the sequel. On the 4th October, 1574, Patrick himself was slain in Balquhiddier by the "Clandowilchayr," a section of his own surname who disapproved of his violent proceedings. His followers, inured to predatory habits and a life of warfare with all men, seemed to have kept together, and to have become known afterwards by the designation of M'Eaghs, or "*children of the mist*."

The interregnum between Black Patrick's death, 1574, and 1588, when Allaster Roy, eldest son of the ill-fated Chief of Glenstrae, came of age, was diligently improved by Colin of Glenorchy and his son, "*Black Duncan with the cowl*," who succeeded him in 1583. The M'Gregors of Roro renewed the old bonds of manrent to "Black Duncan" at Balloch, 5th July, 1585. "Bond of Gregour Makconaquhie V'Gregour in Roro, Alestir M'Ewin V'Conquhie there, Gregour Makolchallum in Innerbar in Glenlyon: Duncan Makgregour, his son in Kildie, and William Makgregour son to the said Gregour there, to Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhay, showing, that their forbears had granted the like bond to the deceased Coleine Campbell of Glenurquhay, and obliging themselves, if it should happen that Makgregour, by himself or accomplices, should break upon

the said Duncan or his heirs, their lands, tenants, and possessions, to renounce him as their chief, and to take part with the said Duncan against him." But the experience of the last feud had convinced Glenorchy of the evanescent effect of these bonds when a question affecting the honour of the clan or the prerogatives of the chief was the matter in debate ; and he was therefore anxious to add to the assurance of voluntary submission the better-recognised title and right of lord-superior. As formerly mentioned, the superiority of the lands occupied on "middleman" tenure, by the house of Roro was vested in the family of Menzies. The substance of the bond given below shows by what unscrupulous means Glenorchy sought to wrest from the Laird of Weem the right which he held of him already as tenant :—

"Johne, Earl of Athole, binds himself not to appoint nor agree with James Menzies of that Ilk in regard to any controversy, until Glenurquhay should first obtain in feu or long tacks from Menzies his lands lying on the west side of the water of Lyoun, holden of him by the said Duncane ; and that he would not reset, nor allow to be resetted within his bounds, any goods belonging to James Menzies or his tenants, or show them any favour ; that if the said James Menzies should pursue the said Duncane, or be pursued by him, he would assist the said Duncane with all his forces ; and that he should give the like assistance against the Clangregour if they should render aid to Menzies. At Dunkeld, 25th June, 1585."

By a mutual bond, dated 20th March, 1584, he got Strowan to bind himself to "cause all his tenants of the lands and barony of Ferney serve the Earl of Argyle and Duncan Campbell in hosting and hunting." On the breaking out of the next horrible feud, this bond was amplified or changed into another, dated at Balloch, 16th October, 1590, bearing that "Donald Robertson of Strowan, finding



that divers of the Clangregour occupied his lands and barony of Fernay, in the lordship of Descheor and Toyer, and Sheriffdome of Perth, against his will, so that he could not well remove them, binds himself and his heirs, if, by the assistance of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhay, he can remove them orderly, to put in their stead tenants bound to serve the said Sir Duncane in hosting, hunting, and obedience, as the tenants of the said lands did previously, the said Sir Duncane being bound to defend the said tenants in their possessions."

Allaster Roy being of age in 1589, claimed feudal enfeoffment of his property of Glenstrae. Glenorchy, the lord-superior, refused to grant the investiture. It would disarrange the whole policy of the Laird of Glenorchy should the chief of the Clan Gregor continue to hold the messuage of Stronmelochan, and have a legal base of operation for his numerous and devoted followers. The affront put upon him in this matter precipitated the chief and those of his clan, who had since the last feud scrupulously kept aloof, into sharing and adopting the rash counsels and rasher deeds of the "brokin men," now styled "children of the mist," or M'Eaghs.

In September, 1589, the M'Eaghs surprised John Drummond of Drummond-Ernock in the forest of Glenartney and cut off his head. Probably the band of "brokin men" thought this a very justifiable vengeance for the aid given by the Drummonds in pursuing their first and ablest leader, "Duncan Ladosach, to the deid," or there might have been more recent feuds unrevenged; but the slaughter was indefensible even by the very loose code of justice which the M'Gregors themselves acknowledged, for Drummond-

Ernoch was at that very time doubly under the assurance of the clan. Worse still was the atrocity of bringing the dead man's head to the house of Ardvorlich, and stuffing the mouth with the bread and cheese given them by his sister. The consequences to the lady, and the child of whom she was about to become a mother, have been described in the pleasant *Legend of Montrose*, by Sir Walter Scott. Treated for nearly a century like wolves and beasts of prey, it was not reasonable to think the "brokin men" should conduct themselves like civilised creatures; but this deed was so unmanly and execrable—so violently opposed to the irregular chivalry which the clan, in the darkest phases of existence, manifested as a whole—that we are forced to conclude some inexplicable and occult reasons led them into adopting the atrocious murder. The chief and principals of the clan had no hand in its perpetration, yet no sooner did they become aware of the slaughter than they gathered to the church of Balquhiddel, and there in a most appalling manner made the deed of blood their own. The quarrel was one of extermination, and it was perhaps fitting that the reunion of the clan under a young chief, already affronted by the powerful enemy of his race in the tenderest point, and burning for revenge on his own account, on account of his clan, and of his father's fate, should be cemented by the blood of a foeman; but the strange thing was, that the quiet bond-granters, who had been obedient vassals to their different over-lords for twenty years, should, on such an apparently trivial quarrel, throw their engagements to the wind, and at once brave those dangers which the whole tenor of their lives showed they were pretty willing to shun. But wonder as we may, the list of 200 clans-

men mentioned *nominatim* in the commission of fire and sword issued by the Secret Council on this occasion, leaves no doubt of its being a general movement of the clan, in which the principals of the "three houses" participated.

The nature of the proceedings by which the clan adopted the guilt of the "brokin men" is described in an Act of Privy-Council, dated Edinburgh, 4th February, 1589, in these terms:—

"Likeas, after ye murder committed, ye authors yrof cutted off ye said umquill Jo. Drummond's head, and carried the same to the Laird of M'Gregour, who, and the haill surname, of M'Gregours, purposely convened upoun the Sunday yrafter at the Kirk of Buchquhidder, qr they caused the said umquill John's head to be presented to ym, and yr avowing ye sd murder to have been committed by their communion, council, and determination, laid yr hands upoun the pow, and, in eithnick and barbarous manner, swear to defend ye authors of ye sd murder, in maist proud contempt of our Sovrn Lord and his authoritie, and in evil example to other wicked lymmaris to do ye like, gif ys sall be suffered to remain unpunished."

I append Sir Alexander Boswell's poetical description of the same scene, as probably more interesting to most readers:—The head of Drummond is on the altar, and over it is thrown the banner of the tribe. The Chief advances—

" And pausing, on the banner gazed :  
Then cried in scorn, his finger raised,  
' This was the boon of Scotland's king : '  
And with a quick and angry fling,  
Tossing the pageant screen away,  
The dead man's head before him lay.  
Unmoved he scanned the visage o'er,

The clotted locks were dark with gore,  
The features with convulsion grim,  
The eyes contorted, sunk, and dim,  
But unappall'd in angry mood,  
With lowering brow, unmoved he stood.  
Upon the head his bared right hand  
He laid, the other grasped his brand ;  
Then, kneeling, cried, ' To heaven I swear  
This deed of death I own and share ;  
As truly fully mine as though  
This my right hand had dealt the blow.  
Come, then, our foemen, one, come all ;  
If to revenge this caitiff's fall  
One blade is bared, one bow is drawn,  
Mine everlasting peace I pawn,  
To claim from them, or claim from him,  
In retribution, limb for limb.  
In sudden fray, or open strife  
This steel shall render life for life.'  
He ceased ; and at his beckoning nod,  
The clansmen to the altar trod ;  
And not a whisper breathed around,  
And nought was heard of mortal sound,  
Save from the clanking arms they bore,  
That rattled on the marble floor ;  
And each, as he approached in haste,  
Upon the scalp his right hand placed :  
With livid lip, and gathered brow,  
Each uttered, in his turn, the vow.  
(Macgregor) watched the passing scene,  
And searched them through with glances keen,  
Then dashed a tear-drop from his eye—  
Unbid it came—he knew not why.  
Exulting high, he towering stood :  
' Kinsmen,' he cried, ' of Alpin's blood,  
And worthy of Clan Alpin's name,  
Unstained by cowardice and shame,  
E'en do, spare nocht, in time of ill,  
Shall be Clan Alpin's legend still.' "

The following "bond to pursue the Clan M'Gregor for the murder of John Drummond" is formed in conformity with the Act of Privy Council :—

"Be it kend til all men, us undirsubscryvers, understanding be money—actis—maid nocht onlie be—the Kings Maiesties—progenitouris, bat alsa be his Maiesties self, baith in Parliament and Privie Counsel, anent the daylie mourthouris, slauchteris, herschipis, and thiftis committit be clannis of hieland men upone the inhabitantes of the laiche countries, speciallie be the Clan of M'Gregouris—Lyke as laitlie the said Clan of M'Gregour, in the moneth of September last bipast, maist creuallie slew and murtherit Johne Drumond of Drumnerenocht in Glenarknay, being under thair doubil assurance, the ane grantit—be My Lord Huntlie in thair name to my Lord of Montroiss, assuring that he and all his, and in speacial the said Johne Drummond, suid be unharmit in body and geir—ay and quhil the said assurance suld be upgiffin and dischargit on, to my Lord of Montroiss be the said Erle of Huntlie, quhilk onnavyss wes sa done afor the said slauchter nor yit sensyne ; the uthir assurance being granted and given be —— in name of that hail clan, to my Lord of Inchaffray and all his kin, freindis, and surname, upone the Monunday befor the said slauchter, sua that nather of the forsaid assurances was then outrun : The said Johne being directit be his Chief, at his Maiestie's commandment, for getting of vennisoune, to have send to Edinburcht to his Maiestie's marriage, the said clan cuttit and of-tuik his heid, and thair-after convenand the rest of that clan, and setting down the heid befor thame, tharby causing thame authoreiss the said creuel murthour, lykas thai have done, mening thairby to continue the lyke or greter, gif thai be not prevented. - - - We undirsubscryvand, beand sua tendir of blud alliance and nychtbouris, being sua oft of our freindis, tenentis, and seruandis slane, murtherit, and herriet be the said clan of befor, and of mynd to revinge the said creuel murthour and bluide of the said John Drummond hes bundin—ilk ane of us—to tak treu and efald pairt togidder for perseuing of the said clan and committaris of the said murthour—quhairevir thai may be apprehendit ; and gif thai sall happin to frequent or invade oney ane of us, we al sall repair and hald our forcis to the partie invadit ; and we bind us, upon our honour and lautie, that nane of us sall appoint or agre witht the said clan, by

the advyss of the rest of the subsryveris. In witnes quhairof, we have subsryvit this present witht our handis, at Mugdodge, Inispeffre, and Drummond, and Balloch, the xx, xxiiij, and thrattie dayis of Octobir, 1589, befoir thir witnes, Robert Grahame of Auchinclocht, William Drummond of Pitcarnnis.

“ DRUMMOND.

“ DUNCAN CAMPBELL, of Glenurquhay.

“ JHONE, Earl of Montroiss.

“ INCHEFFRAY.”







XX.

THE general commission of 1589 was to endure for the space of three years ; but as the commissioners, who had not all the same interest in the extinction of the Clan Gregor as Glenorchy, exhibited apparent backwardness in the matter, a particular commission was granted to Sir Duncan, July, 1591, in which the clan as a whole are described as rebels, and at the horn for diverse horrible offences. Fire and sword were denounced against the harbourers of the clan ; power was given to convocate the lieges of Breadalbane, and the neighbouring districts, to follow up the pursuit ; and the surrounding noblemen and barons were commanded, under heavy penalties, to aid Sir Duncan. It had been now twice severely experienced, that the expedient of making them foreswear and up-give their chief by bonds, completely failed to gain the fidelity of the M'Gregors, and to make them true vassals of the Campbells. In this commission, therefore, the system was condemned by the supreme authority. The bonds of maintenance subsisting between Sir Duncan and the principals of the clan were cancelled, and all such engagements forbidden for the future. With such ample powers, Glenorchy was yet far from being master of Clan Alpin's fate. He, and his truculent cousin, the Laird of Lawers, chased them, it is true, from Breadalbane, surprised and slew some, and made

others prisoners; but the great body escaped into districts, where, notwithstanding the royal authority, he did not care to follow them. The Laird of Glenlyon, moved both by the claims of recent relationship and hereditary fosterage, openly set at nought the mandates and defied the vengeance of Glenorchy, nay, divorced from bed and board the sister of Lawers, his second wife, because, as formerly mentioned, she madly schemed to betray a company of M'Gregors for whom her husband had prepared a hospitable feast. Menzies connived at it if he did not aid the flight of the fugitives to Rannoch. Argyle also, who found the clan very useful in prosecuting, with safety to himself, bloody feuds against his enemies, did not wish such hearty success to his kinsmen, Glenorchy, as to shut up absolutely the passes to the West. Sir Duncan, therefore, relinquished for a time the scheme of extermination, and, within a year after his commission was issued, obtained leave from the king to enter into new bonds of manrent and forgiveness with the rebels. Failing thus in the bolder course, Sir Duncan, for the first time, humbled himself to propitiate the M'Gregors, by surrendering a portion of their escheats. A family of M'Gregors derived from the house of Roro, known by the name of M'Quhewin or M'Queens, settled in Fortingall before 1498. In course of time, they came into possession of the lands of Duneaves. As already noticed, the representative of this family—Donald Oig M'Quhewin, associate of the grandson of Duncan Ladasoch—was beheaded at Kenmore by Colin of Glenorchy, 1574. His lands fell into the hands of Colin and his successors by escheat. About 1594, these lands were restored by Sir Duncan to the nephew of Donald Oig; for, on the 8th August of that

year, we find "Patrik M'Queine, minister of God's word at Rothesay, ratifies all former bonds of manrent granted by Patrik Oig M'Queine his father, Donald Oig his father's brother, and others their friends and forebears, to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchay, knight, and his predecessors, and that because he had sufficient proof of Sir Duncan's goodwill, especially in giving him possession of the lands of Easter Tenaif (Duneaves), which he could not enjoy without the assistance of Sir Duncan ; and obliges himself and his heirs to give to Sir Duncan hosting, hunting, and all other due service, performed by his predecessors out of the lands of Easter and Wester Tenaif, Auchater, and other lands possessed by him ; to give Sir Duncan calp and bairn's part of gear, and not to dispose of said lands without Sir Duncan's consent, else such deed to be *ipso facto* null and void."

Patrik, in the course of six years, was deprived of the lands thus restored. Sir Duncan, however, did not find it so cheap or pleasant to keep false reckoning with the minister of Rothesay, and his brother-complainer, the Baron of "Curquhyn," as with the more warlike and less astute principals of the clan. A *memorandum* to the following effect appears in the *Black Book* :—

"The said Sir Duncan wes wardit in the Castell of Edinbruch in moneth of Junii, in the zeir of God 1601, throch the occasioun of certane fals leis and forged inventis of ane Donald Monteith, alias Barroun Curquhyn, and ane uther callit Patrik McQuene, ane deboysched and depryved minister, quhilks fals and forged inventiounis and calumneis alledgit, nochwithstanding they wer never qualefeit nor provin, zit in respect of the pooir and gredie courteouris for the tyme, the said Sir Duncan was detenit in warde till he payit to the king his courteouris fourtie thousand markis."

Between 1593 and 1600, several schemes were proposed for training and civilizing the clan without going to extremity. In 1596, Allaster Roy appeared before the King and Council at Dunfermline, took the oath of allegiance to be his Majesty's "house-hald" man, and bound himself for the good behaviour of his clan. On this, and several other occasions, the chief exhibited a sincere desire to become a quiet and obedient subject; but the incessant encroaching by the landlords of the M'Gregors upon rights which his foolish followers thought no feudal charters could abrogate, and the lawlessness in which a century of persecution had hardened them, precipitated him into courses from which there was no extrication. These measures failing, Argyle was appointed, with the most ample powers, his Majesty's Lieutenant and Justice in the whole bounds inhabited by the clan. The strangest thing in the transaction is, that James bound his royal hands, by a clause in the commission, promising he would not hear the suits of, or grant favour or pardon to the M'Gregors or any one of them, without the concurrence of the Earl. The fount of royal mercy being thus shut up, the clan fell entirely under the management of Argyle, who, if he did not persecute them according to the tenor of his commission, did what was ultimately more fatal—use them as the tools of revengeful policy, and then betray them. The Battle of Glenfruin, in 1603, though, as formerly noticed, partly brought about by an affront offered to the M'Gregors, was in no slight way fought at the instigation of the King's Lieutenant. In this conflict fell John Dubh, the brother of the chief.

The undisguised abhorrence of James VI. to bloodshed

and weapons of war is described by all contemporaries. On more than one occasion of extreme emergency he did show sparks of hereditary courage and resolution ; but usually his constitutional timidity very poorly compensated for the pacific character he affected. After the conflict of Glenfruin, the enemies of the Clan Gregor skilfully used the weakness of the monarch to obtain a series of enactments disgraceful to the statute-book of Scotland. Eleven score widows of the Colquhouns appeared before James at Stirling, arrayed in mourning, riding on white palfreys, and each bearing on a spear the bloody shirt of her husband. An Act of Privy-Council, dated 3rd April, 1603, proscribes the name of the clan, and denounces death to any calling himself Gregor or M'Gregor. Another Act of Council, dated 24th June, 1613, forbids, on pain of death, those formerly called M'Gregors to assemble together in greater numbers than four. An Act of Parliament, 1617, chap. 26, continued these laws, and extended them to the rising generation, because then numbers of the children of those who had fallen by the persecution were coming of age, and threatened, if permitted to assume the dreadful patronymic, to make the clan as formidable as ever.

Argyle, the first to tempt the poor chief to villainy, was also the first to betray him. By agreement with Argyle, the Laird of Ardkinglas, on the 2nd October, 1603, having invited M'Gregor to a banquet in his house, which was built on an island of Loeh Fyne, then and there made him prisoner, and put him into a boat with five men to guard him, besides the rowers, to be sent to the Earl. M'Gregor, when half-across, got his hands loosed, struck the one next to him overboard, leaped after him into the water, and

escaped by swimming. Much to his honour, Allaster of Glenstrae was more solicitous about the peace and security of his clan than his personal safety. Knowing well the misrepresentations by which James had been led to sanction the severe measures against them, he gave himself up to Argyle upon condition of his allowing him to pass into England to lay his case before the King, and to give hostages for the peaceable behaviour of the M'Gregors. No sooner, however, had he reached Berwick, than he was arrested by the Earl, brought back to Edinburgh, condemned, and put to death, together with the hostages, although, as Calderwood observes, "reputed honest for their own pairs." The manner in which Argyle paltered with truth, keeping the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope, shows that he had everything to fear from an interview between M'Gregor and the sovereign, and corroborates the disagreeable truth of the

LAIRD OF MAKGREGOUR'S DECLARATION,"

(Producit the time of conviction).

"I Allaster M'Gregour of Glenstrae, confesse heir, before God, that I have been persuadit, movit, and intysit, as I am now presentlie accusit and troublit for : olse, gif I had usit counsall or command of the man that has intysit me, I wad have done and committit sundrie heich Murthouris mair ; ffor trewlie, sen I was first his Majesteis man, I culd never be at ane eise, by my Lord of Argyll's falshete and inventiones ; for he causit M'Claine and Clanchamrowne commett herschip and slauchter in my roum of Rennoche, the quhilk causit my pure men thereafter to bege and steill ; also thereafter, he moweit my brother and some of my freindis to commit baith herschip and slauchter upon the Laird of Luss : Alsua, he persuadit myselve, with message, to weir aganis the Laird of Boquhanene, quhilk I did refuse, for the quhilk I was contenowalie bostit that he sould be my unfreind ; and quhen I did refuse his desire on that point, then he intysit me with uther



messengeris, as be the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>Knachtane and utheris of my freindis, to weir and truble the Laird of Luss, quhilk I behuffit to do for his fals boutgaittis. Then, quhen he saw I was at ane strait, he cawsit me trow he was my guid friend ; but I did persave he was slaw therin. Then I made my moyan to pleis his Majestie and Lords of Counsall, baith of service and obedience, to puneische faultouris and to saif innosent men ; and quhen Argyll was made foresein thereof, he intysit me to stay and start fra they conditiouns, causing me to understand that I was dissavit, bot with fair wordis ; to put me in ane snair, that he mycht gett the landis of Kintyre in feyell fra his Majestie, begane to put at me and my kin, the quhilk Argyll inventit maist schamfullie, and persuadit the Laird of Ardkinlaiss to dissave me, quha was the man I did maist trest into ; but God did relief me in the mean tyme to libertie maist narrowlie. Nevertheless, Argyll maid the open brutt, that Ardkinlaiss did all that falsheid by his knowledge, quhilk he did intyse me with oft and sundrie messages, that he wald mak my peace and saif my lyfe and landis, only to puneiss certane faultouris of my kin, and my innosent freindis to renounce thair sir-name, and to leif peaseablie. Upone the quhilk conditiounis he was sworne be ane ayth to his freindis, and they sworne to me, and als *I haif his warrand and handwrytt thereupone*. The quhilk promeis, gif they be honestlie keepit, I let God be Judge ! And at oure meeting, in our awin chalmer, he was sworne to be in witness of his awin friend. Attour, I confess before God, that he did all his craftie diligence to intyse me to slay and destroy the Laird of Ardinkaipull, Mackally, for ony ganes, kyndness, or friendship that mycht he do or gif me ; the quhilk I did refuis, in respect of my faithfull promeis made to Mackallay of before. Also, he did all the diligence he culd to move me to slay the Laird of Ardkinglaiss in lyk manner ; but I never grantit thereto, thro the quhilk he did envy me gretumly. And now, seing God and man seis it is greediness of wardlie gier quhilk causis him to putt at me and my kin, and not the weill of the realme, nor to pacifie the saymn, nor to his Majestie's honour, bot to putt down innosent men, to cause pure bairnes and infanttes beg, and pure wemen to perisch for hunger, quhen they are heriet of their geir, the quhilk I pray God that thair faultis lycht not upon his Majestie heirefter, nor upone his successione. Quherfor I wald beseek God that his Majestie knew the verity, that at this hour I wald be content to tak banishment, with all my kin that was at the Laird of Lussis slauchter, and all

utheris of thame that ony fault can be laid to their charge. And his Majestie, of his mercie, to let pure innosent men and young bairnies pass to libertie, and learn to leif as innosent men : The quhilk I wald fulfill bot ony kynd of faill, quhilk wald be mair to the will of God and his Majestie's honour nor the greidie crewall form that is devysit, only for love of geir, having nather respect to God nor honesty."

What a fearful echo of the good old times ! The face of affairs had been gradually changing since the marriage of Malcolm Ceanmore with Margaret of England. Custom and usage had been displaced by positive laws ; the voice of the monarch and national council rose superior to the separate and opposing clamours of distinctive straths and glens ; and the *Regiam* and its cognate regulations at length received the solidity of things real, and no longer remained what they were centuries after being ushered into the world, the uncertain prophecies of things yet to be. Clanship retired from the public stage, surrendered to antagonistic principles the theoretical connection between the subject and the king, and limited its operations to the relation of baron and *follower*, scorning still to acknowledge the latter as the vassal of the former. The progressive change was effected without danger where the ancient families retained their old possessions, where the chief of the tribe could still be a chief to those of his surname, and, without a conflict of hostile elements, be a feudal baron in relation to the monarch and his laws. The clans who lost their lands were alone those who stuck to the old traditions, the ancient free institutions of the forest, with a pertinacity which rendered it necessary for feudalism either to destroy or be destroyed. An Act of Parliament, passed 1587, attempted, by stringent regulations, to crush the last efforts

of clanship, by declaring thefts committed by landed men (*creachs*) to be treason, and punishable by death ; by ordering the landlords of persons acknowledging another chief to refuse them all help, and to remove them from their bounds, or give caution for them—which they would be unwilling to grant for men obeying the behests of another ; and, moreover, by ordaining that the captains, chiefs and chieftains of clans, both Border and Highland, be noted in a roll, and obliged, under pain of fire and sword, to surrender to the King and Council certain pledges or hostages, liable to suffer *death* if redress of injuries were not made by the persons for whom they lay. A pendant to this Act of some interest, as showing the weakened state of the clan system in 1587, is, “The Roll of the Clannes that hes Captaines and Chieftaines, quhom on they depende, oftymes against the willes of their Landes-Lordes, alsweill on the Bordoures as Hielandes ; and of sum special persons of Braunches of the saidis Clannes.” Seventeen surnames on the Borders are marked down in the black list, and the following from the “Hie-landes & Iles” bear them company—viz., “Buchannanes ; Mak-farlanes of the Arroquhair ; Mak-knabes ; Grahames of Menteith ; Stewarts of Balquhiddel ; Clanne-Gregore ; Clan Lauren ; Campbells of Lochinel ; Campbells of Inneran ; Clan-dowall of Lorne ; Stewartes of Lorne or of Appin ; Clan-Mackeane Awright ; Stewartes of Athoil, and partes adjacent ; Menzies in Athoil and Apnadull ; Clane-mak-Thomas in Glensche ; Fergussones ; Spaldinges ; Makintosches in Athoil ; Clan-Chamron ; Clan-Rannald in Loch-Aber ; Clan-Rannald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry ; Clan-Lewid of the Lewis ; Clan-Lewid of Harrichs ; Clan-Neill ; Clan-Kin-

non ; Clan-Leane ; Clan-Chattane ; Grantes ; Frasers ; Clan-Keinzie ; Clan-Avercis ; Munroes ; Murrays in Sutherland." The list contains nearly the whole purely Celtic clans. The aim of the Act was not more the putting down of spoliation than of bringing the whole of Scotland under uniform laws, abolishing the affinity-tie, and making the territorial arrangement supreme. The Government was so intent upon not allowing a door of escape from these stringent enactments, that in the same Parliament (1587) a supplementary Act was passed, ordering Highlanders and Borderers to be removed from the "*In-land* quhair they ar planted, and presently dwellis or haunts, to the parts quhair they were borne ; except their Landlordes, quhair they presently dwell, will become soverty for them, to make them answerable to the Law as the Lowland and obedient men, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament." With most of the tribes above specified, the external obedience required by the Act was not so difficult to give. As possessors of land, and bailies on their own property, the chiefs easily assumed towards the King the feudal relation insisted upon ; while at home, and in presence of their surname, the Celtic customs remained paramount. The M'Gregors could not give obedience : they had already been deprived of their land possessions, and they could not be feudalised without surrendering their clan existence, since territory, the proper base of the feudal system, remained no longer with their chief.

The King, working through the organization of feudalism, was in effect aiming at consolidating the central or kingly authority into an absolute despotism. But in the meantime a contrary element, more menacing to the

hopes of autocrats than the affinity-tie of clanship in its most vigorous days, operated among men. When a child in the cradle, the Reformation had hailed James with the titles of sovereignty, and placed a crown upon his baby brow ; and yet in struggling with that power he spent his whole life in vain. Highland clanship was proscribed and hunted, and contemporaneously the Lowlands were leagued into one large clan against the monarch and his policy, by a principle derived from the deepest springs of human feeling. In the days of Charles the storm burst ; and the maxims of kingcraft, which James had so strenuously laboured to establish, were contemptuously tossed to the winds. Is it not strange, that the house of Stuart, reduced to beggary and want, and their maxims of government become a political myth, did not find in the circle of the clans so virulently attacked the most envenomed of their foes, and the firmest allies of the large rebellious clan of religion ? Look at the preceding list, and compare it with those following Montrose, Dundee, Mar, and “Bonnie Prince Charlie ;” and say, are they not the same ? Clanship was not to be put down by proscription and persecution ; but in the day of trial it freely bled for its persecutors, and when the star of Stuart finally waned, it cheerfully surrendered life in their service amidst the horrors of Culloden ! It is a small specimen of that ever-recurring mystery in the political life of our race—the plans of man crushed by the long-sweeping operation of providential laws. The panoramic mutability, and the perpetual culminating and falling of antagonistic principles, are apt to induce the momentary conviction that the foundation of private morals alone is immutable, and that in public affairs expediency,

the tame bending to the pressure of emergencies as they arise, best subserve the good of the creature, and best harmonize with the laws of the Creator. But it is the nearness of objects which gives them a perplexing magnitude, and blinds us to their relative size and position. The farther we go down the historical gallery, the more do we perceive purpose and order in the vista of the past, the more are we obliged to admire the gifts of mercy and beneficence to the whole race, wrung by the providence of heaven from the efforts of men, though the intentions of the immediate agents were hopelessly baffled.







## XXI.

Son of bold Gregor Roy, prime source of my joy,  
Thy chance from the foray, has left us full sorry  
To-day,

In the hills of the deer, with thy keen-edged spear,  
And hounds in leash, who would not wish  
To see

The chase in sight, and the axe of might,  
And bow of yew, which often slew,  
The king of the forest free !

Glenlyon's boast, to all foemen's cost !  
A fletcher\* skilled, thy quiver filled ;  
Behold !

The pointed dart is winged by art  
From the eagle's spoil ; and Ireland's soil  
Has sent

The silken sheen, of red and green,  
Which waxed with care, from the sunbeam's flare  
Protects the polished shaft.

Stronmelochan's chieft—<sup>†</sup>if claiming belief  
The rights of thy race—whose descent we can trace  
From the king.

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\* Arrow-maker.

† He was by the rights of his race—if these rights were not fahled, which was impossible—the proper *owner* of Stronmelochan, although at the time improperly deprived of it,

In thy person or mind, no fault could we find ;  
Firm in council, and wise, to foresee and devise :  
Like the storm

Was thy face in the field—the bravest did yield,  
When flashed on the strife, our day star of life,  
The steel of Clan Alpin's pride.

Open hand to thy friends, the smile of welcome attends  
On thy chieftains and men ; from thy threshold could wend  
No sad heart.

Strangers come from afar, and thy brave deeds in war,  
To the tunes of old days, Erin's bards sing in lays  
Which will last.

And the wine-cup they drain, and the pipe's merry strain  
Pours the wild notes of glee—who, alas ! says to me,  
The bright scene has gone past ?

Deep was the moaning, yestreen at the gloaming :  
The head of his clan—of his race the first man—  
Was the cause.

Long the farewell, and dark was the dell,  
When he bade us adieu : Good Heaven renew  
Our lost hope !

Had I gone along, less sad was my song—  
Whate'er could betide, I'd be happy beside  
My Chief, though the Saxons' thrall.

THE preceding is a nearly literal version of an old song, called, in the metaphorical language of Gaelic poets, "*The Arrow of Glenlyon*," the said "Arrow" being no other than Allaster of Glenstrae, who had been brought up, after the death of his father Gregor, in the family of his uncle the Laird of Glenlyon, and principally resided there during his after life. The incident handled by the poet is Allaster's surrender of himself into the hands of the "Saxons," for

the satisfaction of justice, on account of the conflict of Glenfruin. No bloody catastrophe seems to have been anticipated either in regard to Allaster or the hostages—the poet indeed wishes he had been one of the latter, and for the sake of his chief, a bondsman of the Saxons.

The moment the clan became aware of the breach of faith towards their chief and hostages, they turned, according to custom, their thoughts upon the best means of wreaking their vengeance upon Sir Duncan Campbell, whom they considered—perhaps in this instance unjustly—to be at the bottom of the whole mischief. The house of Roro, which had given seven of the hostages—including the chieftain Gregor—threw off at last all reserve, and the prudential considerations upon which it had hitherto acted, and set itself at the head of the rebels. When the trial of the chief and the hostages was proceeding in Edinburgh, a storm, before which even he quailed for a time, burst upon the head of Sir Duncan. In a very short time the M'Gregors burned and laid waste Culdares and Duncaves in Fortingall, Cranuich in Breadalbane, Glenfalloch, and the land of Bochartil in Menteith, all pertaining to Sir Duncan. They burned, moreover, his castle of Achallader—the whole loss extending to a hundred thousand merks. At last, Robert of Glenfalloch, Sir Duncan's second son, at the head of his father's forces, effectually checked the marauders, and, following up his advantage, pursued a great number, which he brought to bay at "*Bad-an-t'sheoig*," in the Moss of Rannoch, and thoroughly routed. In this fray was slain Duncan Abrach M'Gregor, grandson of Duncan Ladosach, and his son Gregor in Ardchyllie, who was Rob Roy's grandfather. With one or two exceptions, all the principals of the clan

were either now slain or imprisoned. Clan Alpin's star was never more dim, but the work of extirpation was far from being accomplished ; the link of union was strengthened in place of being destroyed. If, instead of making Allaster and the hostages martyrs to their followers and the spirit of clanship, the King and the Barons had hit upon means to make them betray both, that would have weakened if not annihilated the allegiance which survived all persecutions. The policy of the King and the Campbells, &c., is embodied in formal documents and stern enactments ; the sentiments with which the victims met this policy and triumphed over it, even when defeated, remain to us in the more truthful and lifelike form of songs and poems. I regret very much being forced, for the sake of the narrative, to become translator of some of these without having the requisite qualifications ; and I cannot but express the hope that Gaelic-bred scholars, to the worship of the tuneful goddesses inclined, will seize upon the opportunity before it is too late, and make the poetic treasures of our native tongue accessible to the world. The following was composed about the year 1605, after the rout and slaughter at "*Bad-an-t'sheoig*," and the execution of Allaster and the hostages. It would have been too much for Highland pride to mention that Gregor of Roro, the hero of the piece, and the other "dear foster-brothers," had been hanged. Though that, in fact, is the burden of the poem, there is no direct allusion made to it ; and the abrupt transition to the fate of the remaining principals of the house, who had fallen fighting with the Campbells, and had been hastily buried as they fell on the field, in the chapel or vault of the M'Gregors at Fortingall, is intended perhaps to hide the

shameful death that had overtaken the seven first men of the house in Edinburgh. The poem is said to have been composed by M'Gregor's nurse, as a lullaby to the young heir :—

M'GREGOR OF RORO.

With sorrow, sad sorrow,  
My cup has run o'er ;  
From sorrow, sad sorrow,  
I'll recover no more.

For Roro's M'Gregor  
I bear the sharp pains—  
M'Gregor of streamers  
And pipe's echoing strains.

Whose symbol, the pine tree,  
And erne's tufted plume,  
A king's son had chosen,  
In Albyn's young bloom.

Whose spear-shafted banner,  
Ascending the brae,  
Was held by M'Vurich  
His bannerman gay.

He struck me, the coward ;  
I'll mourn not to-day.  
They strike me unjustly—  
Who alas ! will repay ?

My rightful protectors  
In death are laid low,  
And my part-takers sleep  
In yon chapel of woe !

And my dear foster-brothers  
In the narrow bed lie,  
Their mean shrouds not decked  
Under gentle dame's eye !

One counsel I give you  
Should you hearken to me,  
When you enter the hostel,  
Oh! moderate be.

Take drink without sitting,  
And watch your menyie :  
Take the cup first offered,  
Be it meikle or wee.

Make harvest of winter,  
And summer of spring ;  
Sleep light in the mountains  
Beneath the rock's wing.

Though sly is the squirrel,  
He's captured at times,  
And the high sweeping falcon  
Low cunning beguiles.

The temperance advice was needful for men with their heads generally under the wood ; but it is possible that it has special reference to an incident which occurred at Killin in the winter of 1605 or 1606. The bitterest enemies are obliged to have at times recourse to truce ; and the longer the conflict, the oftener, and more matter-of-course-thing must truce become. Amidst the endless feuds of the Highlanders, the days appropriated to the honour of the district saints had been long observed as seasons of truce—a fact which, from the protection afforded to unrestrained intercourse, was principally the cause of the religious days becoming everywhere the stated markets of the kingdom. The Reformation, where it prevailed, no doubt changed the current of men's thoughts, but in the Highlands its immediate success was but partial and superficial, and most of the customs springing from a



Roman Catholic source, which by long habit had entwined themselves with the social being of the inhabitants, retained their full vigour for another century ; and even in this year of grace itself, traces by no means faint are met with in certain localities. To St. Fillan, the Culdee Apostle of Breadalbane, the 9th of January (O. S.) had been dedicated. The Fair of St. Fillans on that day still survives, as at the period of our narrative ; but then, though the religious ceremony had perished, its old sanctity as a day of universal truce, on which foes and friends might meet in safety and peace was supposed by the proscribed M'Gregors still to exist, and to afford them all requisite protection. A party of them, accordingly, made their appearance, headed by *Ian Dubh Gear*, a cousin of the late chieftain of Roro. Notwithstanding the immemorial custom, they were immediately beset, and most of them taken or slain. John-dubh escaped, after killing or wounding eight of his antagonists. He had been for some time under hiding, and was accustomed to receive hospitality and concealment from a certain family in Glenlochay, to whom he presented himself as usual, after the affray. He was received with the usual kindness ; but as the wife went out of the house to bring him, as she said, a bowl of milk, her husband, an old man, a friend of M'Gregor, told the latter to fly at once, for that among those slain by him at Killin, in the late affair, was a friend of his wife, and she had therefore determined to betray him, and, instead of going for the milk, had gone in search of her two sons, who would be willing agents in the plot, and would kill him where he was, if he did not immediately make his escape. Before the old man had well done telling this to his guest, the young men entered the house with

arms to kill him, but he had been forewarned, and stabbed them as they successively entered, and giving a mortal blow to the mother, who was attempting to bar the door upon him, rushed out of the house, exclaiming, "That is the way a M'Gregor avenges breach of trust." He then fled to Strathspey, where he was lucky enough to captivate the affections of a young girl of good family, who abandoned for a time friends and home for the sake of her daring outlaw. When sleeping in a barn, the couple on one occasion received warning that an officer of the law and twelve armed attendants were upon their track. But they appeared so soon after the notice was received that they could not fly. In this emergency, the young wife, who I think is called Isabella in an old song commemorating the incident, showed herself worthy of her mate. He was well provided with fire-arms, having a Spanish gun and a large pistol or *dag*. The fair Isabella loaded as fast as John could discharge; so that between them the enemies quickly measured their lengths on the ground or took to their heels. In the joy of victory, John-dubh is said to have composed and danced the famous "*Tulaichean*," or, as it is more generally pronounced by strangers, the "*Reel of Hullichin*." The old words are characteristic of a hardy outlaw, and have much of that exuberance of feeling resulting from an unexpected deliverance :

" O Thulaichean gu Bealaichean,  
'So Bhealaichean gu Tulaichean ;  
'S mur faigh sinn leann 's na Tulaichean  
Gun oll sinn uisge Bhealaichean."

" From the knowes to the passes,  
From the passes to the knowes ;  
If we have no beer on the knowes  
We have springs in the passes."

John-dubh having obtained remission for his misdeeds became, it is said, an exemplary member of society ; and most wonderful of all, if true, he and the fair Isabella were progenitors of the Gregorian dynasty, which has given Scotland upwards of twenty professors renowned in literature and science !

The Clan Gregor, stunned by the several calamities we have endeavoured to enumerate, for four or five years disappeared, as it were, altogether. But in 1610, they raised their heads again under another band of leaders, who had meantime come to maturity, and were resolved to avenge their fathers. We summarise the following account from the *Black Book* :—

“ The King hearing of the great rebellion and oppression made again by the Clan-Gregor in the year 1610, sent from England the Earl of Dunbar, for taking order with them, and for settling peace in the Highlands, as he had formerly done on the Borders. Among others of the nobility and gentry, Sir Duncan Campbell was *burdened* to pursue the Clan-Gregor, for rooting out of their posterity and name. The Earl of Dunbar, soon after this arrangement, retired to England. And in the month of February, 1611, the Clan-Gregor, being straitly pursued, betook themselves to the isle of Ilnabernak in Monteith ; whereupon, the Secret Council employed Sir Duncan and other gentlemen in the countries round about, to besiege them. Which being begun, the siege was hastily raised through a severe snow-storm. When Sir Duncan’s people were returning from the siege, Robert, his second son, hearing of oppression made by a number of the Clan upon his father’s lands, took three of their principal men ; and in the taking, one was slain, the other two were sent to Edinburgh.”

About this time the Earl of Dunbar died, and the King charged by several commissions the Earl of Argyle and Sir Duncan and their friends to pursue the Clan Gregor. Whereupon the Council appointed a meeting to be held in

Edinburgh of all the landlords. Sir Duncan being among the rest, directed out of Edinburgh his son Robert, and John Campbell son of the Laird of Lawers, who slew the most special man and proud lymmar of them, called John Dow M'Allaster in Stronfernan, and with him Allaster M'Gorrie. Immediately afterwards, while Sir Duncan was still abiding in Edinburgh with the rest of his sons and friends, attending on the Secret Council, the Clan Gregor burned the lands of Aberuquhill belonging to Colin Campbell, Lawers' brother, the lands of Glenurchay, Glenfalloch, Mochaster, in Menteith, and Culdares and Duneaves in Fortingall, all belonging to Sir Duncan. And "in the Cosche of Genurchay they slew fourty great mares and their followers, with ane fair coursour sent to Sir Duncan from the Prince out of London." From this time forth, the Clan Gregor held themselves together to the number of six or seven score men. But Sir Duncan returning, sent out his son Robert and Colin Campbell of Aberuquhill to pursue them, who followed them straitly through Balquhiddy, Menteith, and Lennox, and drove them to the forest of Benbuie in Argyle. Here they slew Patrick M'Gregor, son to Duncan in Glen, and took Neil, bastard to Gregor M'Eane, with other five, whom they hanged at the Cosche where they slew the mares. From Benbuie they chased them to the mountains lying between Rannoch and Badenoch, and so scattered them that they *never met again* in greater numbers than ten or twelve. And from the month of May in the same year, the service was followed up by the Earl of Argyle and Sir Duncan and their friends, during which time Sir Duncan and his sons took and slew sixteen of the Clan Gregor.

At the time the Commissioners appointed by King James were resolutely following out the commands of their master to extirpate the Clan-Gregor and root out their posterity and name, the wide Atlantie bore to the shores of England the wailing cry of young Virginia, more than once repeated, for succour in the shape of men, and men accustomed to endure hardships and bear arms. The race that Scotland insisted upon disowning would have been an acquisition there. But we are wise in the retrospect, or after-hand ; and he who shall set himself to describe and weigh our country's total misapplication of resources may judge the total ignorance of the barons of the seventeenth century regarding the convenient outlet of emigration, less blameworthy, perhaps, and less hurtful to the honour and power of Britain, than the too keen appreciation of it by their successors in the nineteenth.

"In the month of October, 1615," says the *Black Book*, "the Laird of Lawers passed up to London, and desired of his Majesty that he would write to the Council, desiring the Council to send for the landlords of the Clan-Gregor, that they would grant a contribution of fifty pound out of the merkland, and his Majesty would find a way that none of the Clan-Gregor should trouble any of their lands nor possess them, but that the landlords should bruik them peaceably. For Lawers let his Majesty understand, that if his Highness would grant him that contribution, that he would get all these turns settled, wherein truly Lawers had neither power nor *moyen* to do it. The Council wrote for the landlords, such as the Earl of Linlithgow, the Laird of Glenurchay, the Laird of Weem, Alexander Shaw of Cambusmore and Knockhill ; the rest of the landlords came not. The Chancellor inquired of them that were present if they would grant the contribution ? which they all yielded to except Glenurchay, who said, he would not grant thereto, seeing his Majesty had burdened him to concur with the Earl of Argyle in the pursuing of the Clan-Gregor, because he knew he would receive more skaith from the Clan than all the other



landlords. Thereafter the Council wrote to the landlords, and desired them to pay the contribution, and his Majesty's wish was that it should be given to the Laird of Lawers. Glenurchay refused, by reason that he had never yielded to the contribution, and the rest of the landlords, who were absent the first Council day that the contribution was granted, refused in like manner. So the Laird of Lawers was disappointed of the contribution. Glenurchay quarrelled the Laird of Lawers and his brothers, that he should take such enterprises in hand without his advice, seeing that he was the Laird of Glenurchay's vassal and kinsman come of his house, and also his sister's son ; and that when the house of Lawers would have wrecked in Lawers' father's time, the Laird of Glenurchay took in his mother, his brothers, and sisters into his house, and saved the house of Lawers from ruin and wreck."

"In the month of December, 1615, the Laird of Lawers sought ane suit of the Council for of entertaining three or four score of the bairns of the Clan-Gregor, and desired the Council to burden the landlords with the sum of two thousand merks in the month therefor. The Laird of Glenurchay desired the Laird of Lawers and his brothers not to trouble him with that suit, seeing they knew he had gotten more skaith of the Clan-Gregor than all the subjects of the kingdom, and that he had done more service to his Majesty than all the rest in oppressing of the Clan-Gregor. Lawers refused that Glenurchay should have any courtesy, but pay as the rest did for entertainment of the bairns of the Clan-Gregor. For the which refusal, Glenurchay met with the landlords, such as the Earl of Tulliebardin, the Earl of Perth, my Lord Madderty, and the rest of the landlords, and they took the burden upon themselves for ane space to entertain the bairns, whereby Lawers was disappointed of his two thousand merks."

"Thereafter the Earl of Argyle got of his Majesty the fines of the receptors of the Clan-Gregor, and the Laird of Lawers and his brothers, for the time being daily waiters-on upon the Earl of Argyle, got the fourth part of the fines to themselves. Glenurchay desired he and his tenants, on account of the losses they had suffered, and the services they had performed against the M'Gregors, should not be troubled with these fines. Lawers and his brothers answered, they would grant no courtesy to Glenurchay. Whereupon Glenurchay posted up to London to his Majesty—where the Earl of Argyle was for the present—and declared to his Majesty how that his tenants, notwithstanding their good service and great skaith, were pressed to be fined, which



his Majesty declared was no reason, and so wrote down to the Council, desiring that none of Glenurchay's tenants or servants be troubled with any of the foresaid fines. To conclude, the house of Lawers has been very ungrateful to the house of Glenurchay at all other times."

Sir Duncan had rather a difficult part to act. His severity to the Clan-Gregor placed the family of Glenlyon, in direct opposition, and a pitiable scramble for the spoil entangled him again in a vexatious quarrel with the proud house of Lawers, whose heir was soon destined to blossom into Earl of Loudon. At loggerheads with the oldest and most influential cadets of his house, Sir Duncan for a while slackened in the pursuit, but he had talents to overcome all opposition, and make enemies themselves the tools of his severe, but, it must be admitted, enlightened policy ; for latterly, at least, he represented the principle of order struggling with class for the ascendancy.





## XXII.

**I**T would have been no difficult matter, from the abundance of materials, to sketch the history of the M'Gregors downwards from the point at which we have broken off in last number—to show how, in the civil war, they once more raised their head, and under Patrick Roy, heir of Glenstrae, fought with loyalty so unflinching, and gallantry so conspicuous, as to merit the warmest thanks of the Marquis of Montrose, and obtain the written promise of the restitution of their old possessions, as soon as his Majesty was restored—to point out the sinister influence under which the solemn pledge was left unredeemed by the ungrateful Charles, and even the penal enactments revived, to reassure the hearts of the white-washed rebels, who battened on the spoil of the ruined clan—and to describe the firmness with which, for a century or more after the Restoration, they clung to clan-associations and hereditary traditions, in the face of many inducements to the contrary, until at last the British Parliament tardily abolished the Draconic Acts of King James, and gave back to the M'Gregors the only thing it then could—their ancient surname. But I am conscious of having already digressed too far from the subject matter ; and besides, no commingling of history, no close bonds of connection with the family of Glenlyon, can be alleged as an excuse for dragging in posterior like former events. We

shall therefore return to our old acquaintance, John Campbell, seventh Laird of Glenlyon, and to the period in his life at which we formerly left off—namely, the year 1714.

His eldest child, a daughter, was born that year; and after the difficulties thrown around his early career by a spendthrift father were so far surmounted, that he could look his numerous creditors in the face, with the certainty of being one day able to pay them all, he had the brightest prospects of happy competence before him, sweet domestic bliss, and the affection of a wide circle of friends, attached to him far less by family alliance than the manly courage and honest determination with which he met diminution of fortune, and the severe pecuniary obligations incurred by Robert the unfortunate. There is evidence that he actually looked upon his position in this cheerful, hopeful frame of spirit, and planned improvements on his property, and sensible expedients for paying his debts; when lo! a mysterious whisper breathed over the land, making men mad with the insanity of longing undefined expectation, and the sober John Campbell became the hot enthusiast, and, before all was over, experienced no less than Seged, Emperor of Ethiopia, the futility of plans of pleasure, and man's incapacity to enjoy bliss unalloyed.

Queen Anne died on the 1st of August, 1714. The schemes projected for several years by Bolingbroke and his party, abetted latterly by Anne, both from natural affection for her brother and old hatred to the family of Hanover for opening the succession to the Pretender, were disarranged and precipitated by her sudden death. Presuming upon the strength of the Jacobite party and the personal favour of the Queen, three or four leading statesmen

had proceeded too far to expect favour or mercy from the Protestant successor, King George. Rather, therefore, than face a trial for high treason, or at best sink into forced obscurity and insignificance, these parties selfishly resolved upon wrapping their country in the flames of civil war. Their best excuse before the bar of history is that the King acted in the emergency more like the intolerant head of the Whig party than the constitutional monarch of Great Britain, the common father of his people. They may have really believed that the cold shade into which they themselves had fallen too truly typified the real gift received by the country in the Protestant and foreign dynasty. The chivalrous principle that enlisted the Highlanders on the side of the natural prince, can by no means be ascribed to the party politicians Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Mar. Power, wealth, and station, for themselves and families, formed the *magnum bonum* of these men; and though none of them considered himself an Esau, silly enough to sell his birth-right for a mess of pottage, yet each and all would probably pledge honour and salvation for what George foolishly refused, the sunshine of the Court, and ultimate hope of securing posts and pensions with a little liberty, as heretofore, to sell the people and corrupt the Church. This rebellion is indeed incomparable for the meanness of underlying motives. The superlative hollowness of the principals, painfully contrasted with, and everything than relieved by, the unthinking bravery and instinctive loyalty of the poor deluded tools.

Mar dismissed from office, and finding the monarch *de facto* looking coldly and suspiciously upon his tender of allegiance and devotion, opened a secret correspondence with the king *de jure*, retired to the Highlands, consulted

with the hottest Highland Jacobites at the famous "Deer Hunt," and proclaimed the Chevalier de St. George at Castleton of Braemar, 9th September, 1715.

The measure was not unexpected on the part of the Highlanders. The subjoined note was written by Stewart of Ballechin to the Laird of Glenlyon the 25th August of the preceding year, and twenty-four days after the Queen's death :—

"Ball : 25 Aug. 1714.

"SIR—I received £18 Scots from yor servant, which I shall transmit to my brother Robert by my son Charles, who I doubt not will send hither Rob's obligation with thanks. As for news, I hear none save what the prints give us. All is very quiet and peaceable, and every man working at harvest and oyr lawfull employments, and no appearance of the least *Disturbance*. I give my service to all yours, and am, sir, your most humble servant,

CHAS : STEWART."

John Campbell of Glenlyon, who had apparently been anxious to plunge into rebellion in 1714, had in 1715 the rather unenviable honour of being the man who attempted to strike the first blow. As we shall have occasion to show immediately, his success was not commensurate with his enthusiasm, and the failure of the attempt was an omen of ill augury to the side he espoused.

When the signs of the coming storm became too evident to be longer misunderstood, the Government of King George, induced by the pressing energy of Argyle, took every prudent precaution to mitigate if not arrest its fury. One of these was, to deprive the disaffected, by one home thrust, of all their chief men, or if that failed, to drive them, before being fully prepared, into a precipitate and ill-concerted rebellion. Summonses were accordingly issued to all the heads of the Jacobite Clans, and other suspected

persons in Scotland, to appear at Edinburgh by a certain day, in terms of a very stringent Act passed that year, to find bail for their good conduct. "*Iain Glas*," the aged Earl of Breadalbane, was among those summoned. He found no difficulty in obtaining from the minister of Kenmore (Alexander Comrie), of which parish he himself was patron, a certificate, upon soul and conscience, that, from age and infirmity, he could not be removed from his room, far less undertake a fatiguing journey to Edinburgh. Notwithstanding, the Earl was busy at the time mustering his men, and, within a fortnight, joined the Earl of Mar at Logierait! The Breadalbane men, to the number of 500, assembled about the middle of September, under John Campbell of Glenlyon, and marched into Argyleshire. We have formerly shown that the interests of the two great branches of the Campbells often clashed since "*Iain Glas*" succeeded to the headship of the younger or Breadalbane branch. The hopes of obtaining the undivided leadership of the *Siol Diarmid*, almost within his reach in 1685, had never been given up by the wily "pale John." Many gentlemen of the Campbells of Argyle had strong leanings in favour of James and hereditary right; and though, since the restitution of the Mac-Cailein-Mores to their honour and dignities, not daring to offer active opposition, still by a persevering exercise of the *vis inertiae*, they more than once weakened the hands of the chief. The state of affairs was very well known to Breadalbane, who hastened to avail himself of it by sending his men to Argyle, that his standard might be a rallying-point to the friends of James, and consequent enemies of John, Duke of Argyle. It was an attempt to rob Argyle of his following, and to deny at home



the principle of legitimacy, for which Jacobites publicly contended.

Before marching, water off the "Clach-Buadh" was sprinkled upon the men. When Glenlyon came to a certain man called M'Calum, who appeared to shrink from the shower of water with which the chieftain sportively deluged him, the latter observed in jest, "Calum, you tremble, you coward!" "I do not tremble," replied Calum angrily; "but see you do not tremble. To your father's son it would be a greater shame." Calum M'Calum was a Glenlyon man, who for personal love to the old family had joined the host, like several others, of his own accord; and before the campaign was over, he proved satisfactorily that such service as he offered was not to be bought with gold, and that he had come of a race who never learned to "tremble."

Glenlyon marched into Argyle before Mar made a single move. At the head of his 500 men, he penetrated through the passes of that country without opposition. A few of the Campbells joined him, but by no means the number expected by Breadalbane. It was intended to occupy the places of strength, overawe the districts purely Presbyterian, and proclaim the Pretender at Inverary. Meantime, much to the discomfiture of these plans, Colonel Alexander Campbell of Fonab, sent by the Duke of Argyle, hastily raised the militia of the county for the service of King George, and brought up arms and ammunition from Glasgow. This experienced soldier, who learned his tactics under William and Marlborough, allowed the rash Glenlyon to proceed without molestation into the heart of the country, and then, by a skilful flank march, cut off his re-

treat, and left him but the alternative of surrendering at discretion, or of fighting under disadvantages tantamount to the certainty of annihilation, giving no chance of inflicting material injury upon the assailants. In these desperate circumstances, Glenlyon insisted upon running the risk of one attack, but was with difficulty over-ruled by John Campbell of Achallader, Breadalbane's chamberlain, and Campbell of Glendarule, who had been given to him by the Earl for advisers or "Comhairl Taighe." Fonab was not disposed to proceed to extremities. He had been the late Glenlyon's companion-in-arms; and whatever the world thought of the commander in the massacre of Glencoe, he had loved him as a brother, and as a brother had acted in seeing him honourably buried at Bruges, and in settling his perplexed affairs after his death. This generosity extended to the impoverished family; and we find that in 1703 he had lent to the present Glenlyon, then in great straits, the sum of 600 merks, which were repaid to Robert his son, and his widow Mary Bailie, in 1736, several years after his death. Besides the personal relation of the leaders, Fonab was aware that many on his own side, who would not scruple to fight well for King George in other circumstances, as the chief willed it, were averse to draw their swords against their brothers of the *Sìol Diarmid*, and for the first time sow the seeds of mortal dissension amidst the chief branches of the surname. He therefore proposed that Glenlyon would withdraw his men, promise on his honour to abstain from injuring the inhabitants in his retreat, leave the country and engage not to invade it again. These terms were accepted, and both sides acted upon them without delay. The issue was fortunate for Glenlyon,

Before he crossed the borders of Argyle on his backward march, the Duke's brother, the Earl of Ilay, arrived at Inverary from Edinburgh. This nobleman had exerted himself strenuously for suppressing the progress of the revolt in the capital, was enthusiastically attached to Presbyterianism and the Protestant succession, had talents of no mean order, but exhibited little or nothing of the national and clannish warmth of emotion, the patriotic and enlightened comprehensiveness of mind, the exalted sentiments and native unselfishness of his famous brother, John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich—qualities which rarely meet in one person, and which, take him all in all, have stamped the character of Argyle in Scotch affection as the brightest historical legacy of that age of venal, treacherous politicians, and selfish generals. Ilay's prudence, on the other hand, degenerated at times into low cunning, and his policy as a public man was but cruelty and intolerance in disguise. The conduct of Colonel Campbell incurred his severe censure, and an attempt was made to intercept the retreating band. Misfortune taught Glenlyon to retire with more caution than he advanced, and Ilay was baulked of his object by finding that the tables were now turned, and the disadvantage of position and communication, under which the Breadalbane men first laboured, would be now on the side of their assailants. The proposal was therefore given up, and Glenlyon quietly reached the borders of the county, where he remained for a few days to facilitate the assembling of the western clans. The expedition was of eminent service in this respect. Previous to Glenlyon's appearance in the shire, Lochiel, Glengarry, and Appin, with several subordinate chieftains, had been in correspondence with

the Duke's representative, Colonel Campbell, and showed a strong inclination to remain true to their allegiance to the house of Hanover. It is a strange incident, read in the light of their past history and subsequent conduct, that the royalist offspring of Black Sir Evan of Lochiel, and the veteran Glengarry, who bore the banner of James at Killiecrankie, should at this time waver in their fidelity to the Stuarts. Such, however, was the case. They sent a message to Colonel Campbell, assuring him "that if he could promise them the Duke's friendship, they would, as soon as they could, get their men together, march them to Inverary, and join his (the Colonel's) men, who were in arms for the King (George), and they themselves would go to Stirling to wait on his Grace." The moment they heard of the "*Yellow Banner*" being displayed, the good promises to Colonel Campbell resolved into thin air, and they prepared in all haste to espouse the other, and to them natural, side. The former hesitation was chiefly owing to the fact, that as the western and northern nobility had not joined Mar, and as he and his principal adherents were not connected by previous ties with the Camerons and M'Donalds, these clans, narrowing the world to the circle of their traditions, shrank from trusting leaders of whom they knew nothing, and whose banners were not mentioned in the war songs of their bards. More prudential motives actuated the chiefs—both were men who had seen the world, and distinguished themselves as officers of the Duke of Berwick. The ability of Breadalbane was long their dread individually and collectively; his wisdom, or rather cunning and foresight, had passed into a proverb; through the convulsions of more than threescore years he had both

maintained his hereditary influence, and greatly added to it ; would he now risk all without the certainty of success ? Where he forded, could they not swim ? The promptitude of the old Earl was the spark needed to excite the conflagration. The Camerons and M'Donalds thought of the days of Montrose, Evan Dubh, and Dundee ; and at this crisis it is said the personal influence of the chiefs could not restrain their men from mustering under the banner of the ancient foes of their fathers, if they themselves would not lead them into rebellion as they desired.

Glenlyon, before leaving Argyle, saw Glengarry and Glenmoriston encamped at Achallader, on the Braes of Glenurchay, with 500 warlike followers. Shortly afterwards they moved their camp to Strathfillan. From the positions which they held, they completely covered the passes to Breadalbane, Glenlyon, and Rannoch. Argyle was completely sealed in. By the 18th October the Captain of Clanronald, Rob Roy, Stewart of Appin, Sir John M'Lean, M'Dougal of Lorn, with their followers, and a fresh levy of Breadalbane men, rendezvoused with the clans at Strathfillan. From this they marched into Argyle, and afterwards returning, joined the Earl of Mar on the eve of the Battle of Sheriffmuir, 2,400 strong.

Leaving Glengarry at Achallader, the Laird of Glenlyon marched down his native glen, and joined the Earl of Mar at Logierait with all his men.



### XXIII.

Sad or glad, the news I bear you  
Claims a hearing, patient, long :  
Though in France the Stuart tarries,  
Our good blades should make him strong.  
As for George, he is king of asses ;  
By his gold he gained the crown.  
And ere Whitsuntide shall pass us,  
He must ware on German lasses  
The regard Britannia scorned.

On Ardoch height, by break of dawn,  
The clans were met in thick array ;  
And by evening word had reached us  
That the foe quite near us lay.  
To Kinbuck we marched so fearless,  
Where we passed the night in arms,  
And the breeze was cold and cheerless ;  
But the stacks of corn so peerless  
*Fed the flames to keep us warm !*

On Sunday morn expecting fight,  
The banners fluttered free,  
And we threw off our tartain plaids,  
Nor thought of kirk and bended knee.  
The word, Advance, had passed the ranks,  
And on we rushed with stern-knit brows  
And ardent hope. The upper banks  
With *red-coats* glitter. Heaven have thanks,  
And deil takes him who is hindmost now.

M'Leans and M'Donalds of old renown  
Toss their proud symbols on high !



Beside them the band of the yellow-striped banner,  
 Sent by Breadalbane to conquer or die.  
 The claymore is smeared with the heart-blood of foemen ;  
 And bayonet sharp,  
 By sinews stark,  
 Is driven home in the red-coat mark.  
 The centre reels and Whetham flies,  
 For those who fly not  
 Will never arise !  
 Alas ! they alone stemmed the tide of war,  
 Alas ! they alone gained the thanks of Mar,  
 And earned a bright name in climes afar.

Glengarry, you have well sustained  
 The fame your fathers aye obtained :  
 Warrior of the fearless eye,  
 And prince of hospitality !  
 Stern your voice rolled o'er the field  
 To check the useless sorrow :  
 Moydart bleeds upon his shield—  
 The glaive Glengarry fiercer wields—  
 " Revenge to-day, and mourn to-morrow. '  
*Now* your head is bending low,  
 And the mournful teardrops flow  
 Over *him*, your cherished mate,  
 Who in the onset dree'd his fate—  
 The hawk that made the welkin ring—  
 The chiefest feather in your wing—  
 Best of friends and captain rare—  
 Great M'Allan's haughtiest heir !

Chiefs of Appin and Lochiel ;  
 Struan, from the fir woods wild,  
 Which Albyn's mountains bear ;  
 A passing smart's no lasting ill,  
 No sad disgrace your names defiled,  
 Though vanquished, still with courage rare,  
 'Gainst fate you almost backward bore  
 The signs of victory !  
 Another day the wheel may turn ;

Another day let vengeance burn ;  
 Another day the thirsty blade  
 Yon *red-coat* ranks will yet invade  
 And smoke in clotted gore—  
*A laoiich mo chri.*

Huntly's Earl has proud tramping steeds  
 And Huntly's Earl has men, hills, and meads ;  
     But Huntly's Earl  
     Is worse than a carl  
 If the name he enjoys, be not matched by his deeds !  
     Mercy and peace for the phantom wan,  
     Who lost a name as for life he ran !  
     But, Seaforth's Lord,  
     We can't afford  
 To hide thy shame, as the fate of the man  
 Will never atone for dishonouring the clan !

I must not omit what ought to be told :  
 Our loss would be gain had a captain bold  
     Led the van.  
 Oh ! for thy wisdom, Breadalbane old !  
     Had age given up her withering claim,  
     And restored thee one day, thy manhood's frame,  
     *Thou* wouldst be the man  
     To propose the right plan.  
 When coldly they stopped in the midst of the fray,  
 Thou would'st point to the *red-coats* and teach them the way  
     To pursue  
     Nor stop the halloo  
     Till they brushed them like dew  
     From the land.

Alhallows, protect the just heir of the crown :  
 Base might is triumphant, and right is borne down.  
 But Thomas the Rhymer—and sure is the tale—  
 Foretold that his cause over all must prevail.  
 By Clutha's fair stream—so our sires have us taught--  
 Shall the conflict be ended, the last battle fought ;

When the sons of the Gael  
The standard of Stuart will wave o'er the slain,  
And England at last shall submit to his reign.

THE above is an attempt to put in a foreign dress a song composed by a poetess of the M'Donalds, immediately after the battle of Sheriffmuir. The translation is necessarily very free, but the leading sentiments are retained, and that serves our purpose of showing the feelings of the Highlanders regarding the battle sufficiently well. Huntly, who discouraged fighting with Argyle at all, and afterwards fled with the beaten wing of the rebels, is lashed with bitterness. The Earl of Seaforth, who was with Huntly in the broken wing, and afterwards escaped to France, is treated much in the same way; but the chieftains who attempted to rally the confused host, and, though retreating, disputed with Argyle every foot of ground between Dunblane and the river Allan, are consoled with the hope of retrieving their credit "another day." The lowland auxiliaries are passed over with contemptuous silence. It is not only in this particular song, but in almost every effusion of the Gaelic Jacobite muse, for nearly a century, that a traditional prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer regarding a great victory to be obtained by Highlanders or Scots on the banks of the Clyde or Cluaith—or, as it is called in Ossian, the Clutha—is appealed to as a certain ground of hope for the ultimate triumph of the cause in which they were engaged. This prophetic battle has not entirely got out of the heads of some old Highlanders to this day, though of course it is no longer connected with the Stuart cause. I was amused, during the Crimean war, to hear

a veteran Celt growl out threateningly that the time for Thomas' great battle was then at hand.

Glenlyon followed Mar throughout the whole campaign. After spending much unnecessary time at Perth, the commander-in-chief of the rebels at length resolved to march against the royal forces mustering under Argyle at Stirling. Mar's force, when he arrived at Perth, was about 5,000 men, composed chiefly of his own followers, the Atholemen under the attainted Marquis of Tullibardine, elder brother of the then Duke of Athole, and the Breadalbane men under Glenlyon, with the Stuarts of Athole and Foss, the Robertsons of Struan, the Menzieses of Weem, and Glenlyon men under Menzies of Culdares, the heir of the Crownor, &c. The rebellion was in fact confined mostly to the Highlands of Perthshire. If it could have been kept for a time shut up in its own district, the rebellion would have been crushed in the bud. The taking of Perth was therefore of incalculable benefit to the Jacobite leader. He secured the country behind him, quieting the natural fears of his followers regarding their friends, wives, and children, by holding the entrance to the district on the east and west, for Glengarry and the western clans were known before then to be encamped at Strathfillan. The seizure of Perth made Mar, by the help of the rebels in the northern shires, who were quickly on the march to join him, master of the eastern coast from the Forth to Duncansbay Head. By this time communication with France, from which they expected succours, was safely open, and it wonderfully increased the alacrity of the friends of James to join Mar, though the hope thus entertained was completely frustrated by the inopportune death of Louis XIV., and the accession of the

slippery Philip of Orleans to the regency. On the 5th October, the brave veteran, Brigadier M'Intosh of Borlum, with 500 men joined Mar at Perth. Next day, the Marquis of Huntly arrived with 500 horse and 2,000 foot; and a few days thereafter, arrived successively the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, with strong reinforcements of horse and foot.

Following the line of policy recommended by the precedent of the war of Montrose, and imitated at a future period by Prince Charles, from the Grampians as the base of operations, Mar conceived the project of extending his columns across the Forth, and thence of sending a strong body over the borders, to form a centre of agglomeration for the Tories of England. He was, however, one of those men whose minds could form bold plans in the closet, and with adequate comprehensiveness forecast the destiny of nations, but whose dilatory and timid conduct in the field betrayed themselves and sacrificed their followers.

The Duke of Argyle informed himself of the deliberations in the rebel Councils at Perth; and, with the decisive activity of his character, took the best plans to baffle them. The captain of the expeditionary force was, however, a match even for "Red John of the Battles," as the Highlanders called the Duke. Brigadier M'Intosh of Borlum, with about 2,500 men, moved down to the coasts of Fife, determined to break through the barrier of the Forth, in spite of the Duke and his precautions. That, in the face of such difficulties, he was able to carry this determination into effect, shows of what achievements the army of Mar was capable, if led by an energetic general. To Brigadier M'Intosh and his bold band we shall have hereafter to

recur, as our old acquaintances, the Stewarts of Foss and Athole, and the men of Glenlyon under their new master, Menzies of Culdares, formed a considerable part of the brave expeditionary force. In the meantime let us follow Mar and the great body of the rebels.

No sooner had M'Intosh's detachment landed in Lothian, than the Earl of Mar found it necessary at last to remove from Perth, to divert Argyle from crushing the 1,500 or 1,600 rebels who had broken through his ships of war, perplexed and confounded himself by sham movements, wearied out his soldiers by marches and counter-marches leading to nothing, and in the end crossed an arm of the sea sixteen miles broad in open boats, seized upon the old citadel of Leith, more than threatened Edinburgh, and, as a crowning climax to audacity, flung a bold defiance in the teeth of the Commander-in-Chief of the royal army !

Mar broke up the camp at Perth on the 9th November, and bivouacked that night with his forces at Auchterarder. Early next morning he was joined by the western clans, who had rendezvoused at Strathfillan, now under General Gordon. Orders were issued on Saturday, the 12th, to General Gordon and Brigadier Ogilvie, with eight squadrons of horse and all the clans, to march and take possession of the town of Dunblane, while the main body was to follow after them at a more leisurely pace. Mar was not with the army that day, for he had gone to Castle Drummond to confer with the old Earl of Breadalbane, who, notwithstanding his infirmities, attempted to influence the proceedings of the rebels, and to keep in the wake of the army.

Finding that the royal army had crossed the Forth, and



advanced their columns to Dunblane, General Gordon halted on the moor of Ardoch, and informed Hamilton, who was coming up with the main body. The army being drawn up in order of battle, near the Roman camp at Ardoch, guards were posted, and the men prepared to spend the night there. General Gordon in the meantime marched forward to Kinbuck with the clans, when the news of the royal army being at Dunblane was confirmed, and he accordingly fired the three signal guns, whereupon the main body came up, and the whole men lay under arms all night at Kinbuck, and formed early next morning, fronting towards Dunblane.

Though within two miles of each other, the view was so intercepted that neither army knew the disposition of the other until they met almost face to face in battle array. Mar had no intention to hazard all on the fate of a battle. He called a council of war, and, notwithstanding the warning anticipation of Huntly and others, who thought the sham movement of attempting to pass by Stirling Bridge had already sufficiently answered the immediate object of withdrawing the Duke's army from the Lothians, and leaving the road open to Brigadier M'Intosh's detachment, the ardour of the chiefs determined the resolution to fight. No sooner was it announced to the ranks, than the men enthusiastically threw their bonnets into the air and demanded to be led on.

The victory was doubtful, though the consequences were quite decisive. Argyle with his right wing slowly forced back the left wing of the rebels, commanded by Gordon, Huntly, Seaforth, and several others. This advantage was altogether owing to his having been able to outflank the

rebels, by leading his men across a morass, which the frost of the preceding night had rendered passable. It took the Duke three hours hard fighting to drive the Highlanders back a distance of two miles to the river Allan, and so little was it of a rout that within that space they endeavoured ten times to rally. The horse of the rebels acted shamefully, confusing the whole army by inexplicable blunders in taking up their positions in the morning, and deserting the infantry, who fought admirably, during the battle, and in such a panic, that neither the thought nor power of rallying was left to them.

While Argyle was gaining this advantage over the left of the rebels, their right had signally defeated his left under General Whetham. The Breadalbane men under Glenlyon were brigaded with the M'Donalds. Glengarry, it is said, looking over the array of his surname drawn up before the battle, turned to Glenlyon and said bitterly, "Your father has deprived me of the use of an arm"—alluding to the massacre of Glencoe, which nearly extirpated that branch of the M'Donalds. "Of that," replied Glenlyon, "I am sackless; and the only rivalry I shall have with a M'Donald is, which of us will best wreak on yon ranks to-day the injuries of our King." Glengarry turned round with a smile, grasped his hand, and begged to be allowed to call himself his brother. When Moydart fell in the first onset, the M'Donalds clustered around his body, and nearly got all the brigade into confusion. Glengarry immediately stepped forward flourishing his sword, and recalled the clan to their duty, shouting above the din of battle, "Revenge to-day, and mourn to-morrow."

Rae, the contemporary historian of the rebellion, thus

recounts the victory of the rebel right, and the deeds of the forementioned band that really gained that victory :— “ The left of the King’s army had a far different fate ; for as they were advancing to alter the situation of their front according to the right (wing), they found a body of the enemy’s foot, which had been concealed in a hollow way, to be just on their front and extending beyond the point of their wing, the enemy’s horse being still to their left, and in condition to take them in flank. And at the very same minute of time, when the right of his Majesty’s army engaged the left of the rebels, four hundred of the Earl of Breadalbane’s men, and about two hundred of the clans—making in all a confused body of 600 men—taking the signal from the fire of their left, fell on with incredible resolution upon the three regiments of foot which were on the left of the royal army while they were forming. And though they made all the resistance it was possible for them to make in that situation, yet they were broken, and a great many of them cut to pieces ; and those that were not killed or taken were driven in among the dragoons, and put them likewise into confusion. Had the cavalry upon the right wing of the rebels fallen in at the same time, the whole left wing of the royal army had been cut off when it was not in the power of the rest of the foot to assist them, they being advanced after the right wing to support them, in pursuit of the left of the enemy. But so it was, that the left of the King’s army having made a home charge on some of the enemy’s squadrons which stood on their flank, and carried off a standard, they stood all the while looking on to our left without attempting to do anything considerable.

“The left of the King’s army, commanded by General Whetham, observing a great cloud of the Highlanders break through the centre close by them, and gathering apace, could make no guess of their number, they standing so thick and confused, and intercepting their view, so as they could neither hear nor see what was acted upon the right, which the circular ground upon which the army stood would of itself have impeded without any other obstruction, and all communication or intelligence by *aides-de-camp* or otherwise being intercepted, made them firmly believe that the Duke and the right of the army were either entirely beat, or at least surrounded by the rebels ; nor did they find themselves in condition to resent or rescue them if it had been so. And now finding the rebels endeavouring to get behind them, and so either to march to Stirling or cut off their retreat, and themselves in no condition to keep the field, they retired at a very slow pace towards Dunblane, and from thence to Corntown, at the end of the long causeway that leads to Stirling Bridge, where they arrived about three in the afternoon.”

The want of a commander who could seize on that decisive moment when the line of Whetham yielded, ruined the Jacobite cause. Mar’s incapacity became conspicuous to the meanest clansman, when no attempt was made at massing together the different sections of the right, for one concentrated effort of co-operation against the retreating royal regiments. Without command, without common action, the clans stood astonished in the places to which they were appointed at the beginning of the battle, and the forces opposed to them being beaten back, knew not what they should do next. There they stuck in armed battalions

on the top of the hill, and though, even as Wightman confesses, they might have disarranged the Duke's victorious right wing returning from chasing their comrades to the river Allan, by *rolling down stones* from their post of vantage, the imbecility of the leaders so effectually counteracted the warlike spirit of the clans, that they stood in helpless amaze, like a man under a hideous nightmare, incapable, though willing, to stretch out his arm to save himself from the most loathsome destruction !

A ludicrous anecdote has been transmitted to us regarding an honest man from Roro, Glenlyon, named Duncan M'Arthur, which deserves mention. He and his nephew had followed the banner of Glenlyon through the whole campaign. The nephew's brogues had been worn through by the time they reached Ardoch. Considering, perhaps, everything fair in war, and that he who was not with them was against them, he insisted upon stripping a well-shod lowlander, who had the misfortune to encounter him at that place, of his stout, comfortable-looking shoes, and of giving his own tattered brogues in exchange. As the lowlander resisted the polite offer, the fiery Gael made ready to enforce the equitable barter *vi et armis*. Fortunately for the possessor of the shoes, honest Duncan, the uncle, came up by this time, and as he respected the laws of *meum* and *tuum* somewhat better than the youngster, he took the stranger into his protection, and under high pains and penalties, obliged his nephew to forbear. A momentary laugh at the disappointment of the nephew, and sturdy honesty of Duncan—known to the whole band for his childlike simplicity, but who withal was not to be trifled with, as he possessed thews and sinews to strike down

iniquity like an ox—and the incident passed from remembrance. But in the height of the battle, when Duncan had warmed to the work, and knocked red-coats heels over head at every blow, he raised his stentorian voice above the clashing of swords, and shouted out, “Where is my nephew? He may get plenty of shoes now.”







#### XXIV.

AT the request of the Northumberland rebels for a body of infantry, as previously noticed, M'Intosh of Borlum, with a force of about 2,500, was detached from the main army at Perth, and descended to the coasts of Fife, covered by some squadrons of horse under the command of Sir John Areskine of Alva, the Master of Sinclair, and Sir James Sharp, grandson of the Archbishop. The expeditionary force had difficulties of the first magnitude to encounter, and such as perhaps none in the rebel camp but Brigadier M'Intosh would successfully undertake to surmount. The royal fleet anchored at the mouth of the Firth, and cruisers and custom-house smacks incessantly scoured from point to point, and removed to Leith all the boats they found, pursuant to orders from the Commander-in-Chief. Argyle, with his forces, lay ready to take them up should they by any accident escape the fleet; for Mar had been in this, as in all other matters during the rebellion, a day behindhand. The movement on Stirling, which was calculated to draw off Argyle from molesting M'Intosh, had been executed only after the latter had effected the passage of the Forth. A feint was made to embark at Burntisland, while under cover of night (12th October), the main body secretly embarked in open boats at Pittenweem, Crail, Elie, and other places on the coast. The fleet, having espied

the embarkation, weighed anchor ; but the wind was in favour of the rebels, and the greater number landed on the south coast. One boat with 40 men was captured, and others were driven upon the Isle of May, from which they got back to the coast of Fife next night. In all about 1,600 effected the passage ; and though but a small body, the fame of the leader, the courage of his followers—who were all picked men—and the success with which they accomplished the passage of the Forth, augured well for the cause in which they had embarked, and wonderfully revived the hopes of the rebels, whose spirits had been drooping under the inactivity of Mar, and the divided councils in the camp at Perth.

The first night they rested at Haddington ; but next day, instead of marching southward to join Derwentwater and his friends in the north of England, as intended by their leaders, and expected by every person, they suddenly faced about and marched for Edinburgh. It was one of those moments in which the authority of the chiefs, far less the military obedience to which they had never been accustomed, failed to check the instinctive impulse of the Highlanders.

Among the many causes conducive to the eccentric movement, was the Highlanders' traditional respect for Edinburgh as the capital of Scotland. What Delhi is, or was, to the Hindus, "Auld Reekie" was to the rebels—the city of sacred recollections, the seat of the tribunals, which they feared even while they disobeyed them, the abode of their ancient kings, from St. David downwards, and until recently the place of the national legislative assembly. It is not to be forgotten that the avowed object

of the rebellion was twofold—the restoration of the Stuarts and the repeal of the Act of Union, which from the first had been distasteful to a large section of Scotchmen, and was by this time reprobated nearly by all. The passage in the manifesto issued by Mar and the leading rebels at the commencement of the struggle, bearing upon the subject of the union, gave expression, in well chosen words, to the feeling generally prevalent among their countrymen, and gratified the honest but blind patriotism which sheltered itself behind ancient associations and time-honoured prejudices :—“ Our fundamental constitution has been entirely altered and sunk amidst the various shocks of unstable faction ; while in the searching out of new expedients, pretended for our security, it has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign councils and interests, and the power of foreign troops. The late unhappy *union*, which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved, so far from lessening and healing differences betwixt his Majesty’s subjects of Scotland and England, that it has widened and increased them. And it appears by experience so inconsistent with the rights, privileges, and interests of us and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of England, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us, and hurt them ; nor can any way be found out to relieve us and restore our ancient and independent constitution, but by the restoring of our rightful and natural king who has the only undoubted right to reign over us.”

The Highlanders who crossed the Forth interpreted these

declarations more strictly than Mar, who probably used them as convenient claptrap, ever intended. If they had succeeded in effecting a permanent footing in the capital—a thing that was fairly within the range of probability, had the main army at Perth been sooner on the march and led by an enterprising General—the Scottish Parliament would have been revived, and the Stuarts legislatively restored to their ancient kingdom of Scotland. This, though far from an actual restoration, would be a fiction calculated, in the temper of the times, when the strength of prejudices under the force of clique and unionistic suppression had acquired the virulence of concentrated poison, both to give immediate *eclat* and consistency to the cause, and put the ultimate issue upon a greater footing of equality. It proved a providential mercy to the British nation, that James's advisers did not at that critical period rest their claim upon the nationality question pure and simple. True blue Presbyterians, such was the feeling then, would risk, for a dissolution of the union, and a total separation of the kingdoms, the advantages of the Protestant succession, and take their chance of wrangling afterwards with a Stuart King of Scotland about religious privileges, rather than consent to be sacrificed (as in the Darien affair) to England's merchants, and in the legislature to be swamped (as on the Patronage Act) by England's commoners and peers.

There is no doubt the Highlanders had also been deluded into taking this unexpected step by the false representations of the Edinburgh Jacobites, who waxed confident in their hopes of success through the absence of Argyle at Stirling, the unprotected state of the city, and the Jacobite predilections of the mob. The Provost, John Campbell, was, how-

ever, a staunch Protestant, and took his measures for opposing the attempts of the rebels with prudence and foresight. He ordered the city guards, the trained bands, and associate-volunteers, to their respective places, for guarding the internal peace of the city, and defending it from the enemy. On the day the Highlanders were marching upon the city, the volunteers issued a "*Resolution*" which would have done no discredit to Louis Napoleon's fire-eating Colonels, wherein they "protested and declared, before God and the world, that it was their unanimous and hearty resolution, by the blessing of God, and the assistance of such of their honest neighbours as God should inspire with the same sentiments, whether fewer or more, under whatsoever discouragements, to defend the city against the rebels to the utmost extremity." The Lord Provost, very wisely, did not choose to commit the safety of the capital to the untried valour of the associate volunteers. On the morning of the 14th October, by the time the Highlanders were leaving Haddington for Edinburgh, an express was despatched from the latter city for Stirling, to inform Argyle of the threatened advent of the rebels, and to demand a detachment of regulars to support the loyal citizens.

Mar still slumbered at Perth, and had as yet made no demonstration whatever to molest the Duke's front, or draw off his attention from the detachment of rebels in the Lothians. On receipt of the Provost's message, Argyle, with his customary promptitude, marched at the head of 300 dragoons, and 200 picked infantry mounted on country horses for expedition's sake, to the relief of the capital. By ten at night the relieving force entered the West Port, "to the unspeakable joy of the loyal inhabitants." Argyle

was joined immediately after by the horse militia of Lothian and Merse, and a crowd of armed volunteers, who, with their commanders the Marquis of Tweeddale and Lord Belhaven, fled to Edinburgh before the rebels.

The rebels, marching from the east, were within a mile of Holyrood, when the Duke and his reinforcements entered the city. An exaggerated report of the Duke's arrival with his main army brought them speedily to a halt. After a Council had been called, they hastily marched to the right and entered Leith. They broke open the Tolbooth, and rescued the 40 men captured in the boat while crossing the Firth. A quantity of brandy and other provisions were seized in the custom-house, but private property enjoyed every immunity at the hands of these so-called *robbers* of the North. Leith was an open town without fortification : but an old square fort, called the citadel, built by Oliver Cromwell, had been left standing, though without gates, or any protection from assault, beyond what was afforded by a dry ditch half-filled up, and ramparts crumbling under the effects of time. Here the rebels posted themselves, and mounted upon the old walls pieces of cannon, which they had audaciously seized by hoarding the ships in the harbour. In the same manner, quantities of ammunition, and whatever else was necessary for the defence, had been provided. That evening was so actively employed in fortifying the old citadel, that next morning it was found by the Commander-in-Chief to be a very respectable place of strength in the hands of the audacious spirits who then held it.

Argyle, who had been equally active in preparing for an assault, led down his forces early next morning. The numbers on both sides were nearly equal ; but though



Argyle had the advantage of leading 500 regularly trained soldiers, the majority of his troops, consisting of the militia, new levies, and volunteers, were in nothing except in framing bold resolutions, to be matched with the hardy sons of the north. Even their ministers, armed to the teeth, failed to animate the associate-volunteers. Argyle, however, summoned the rebels to lay down their arms and surrender, declaring that if they obliged him to bring cannon to force them, and any of his men were killed in resisting, he would grant no quarter. David Stewart of Kynachin, Foss, a descendant of that Stewart of Garth who, in spite of all James IV. could do, had burned Castle Menzies in 1502, and made Sir Robert Menzies a captive, replied resolutely to the arrogant summons of the herald, "that as to surrendering, such a word was not in their native language, and they laughed at it; and as to bringing cannon, and assaulting them, they were ready for him. As to quarter, they would neither take nor give any quarter with him; and if he thought he was able to force them, he might try his hand." The duke was by this time within 200 paces of the citadel, and the enemy's balls were grazing among his horse's feet; and finding that the fort could not be carried without great loss, and "being unwilling to expose the brave gentlemen-volunteers to such danger (the life of one of whom was worth ten of the enemy), he retired to Edinburgh in the evening, to make farther preparations for dislodging the enemy on the morrow." Such is the account of the loyal historians, but the Highland version differs considerably. According to the latter, Argyle was obliged to retire on account of the universal dismay of his soldiers, and especially of the bold gentlemen-volunteers

whose courage in presence of the enemy oozed out at their fingers'-ends. A ludicrous panic undoubtedly seized upon the loyal host in the retreat, and their ranks being all confused and lost, a panting mob, and not an army, found refuge within the city gates. The incident, which is well established, confirms the rebel account, and gives edge to the coarse joke of the Highlanders, that "the men of the *cloak and bawbee* could that night make a fortune in Edinburgh"—alluding to a rude substitute for sanitary conveniences anciently known in "Auld Reekie."

Before leaving their position in Leith, the rebels sent an express across the Firth to Mar, for hastening his march to Stirling; but the Earl fatuously delayed putting his army in motion, and the detachments sent to Dunblane for making a demonstration were driven back to Perth from fear of an attack by Argyle, a few days after the rebels abandoned Leith.

Some hours after the Duke's forces retired, the rebels left the citadel of Leith, and, under cover of night, marched to Seaton Castle, seven miles from the city. The Duke, enraged at their escape, made immediate preparations for besieging them in their new position, but was called off from the undertaking by the sham movement of Mar's detachments to Dunblane, which necessitated his return to Stirling with the greater part of his forces.

He left, however, Colonel Ker, with some troops and the gentlemen-volunteers, with orders to attack Seaton House, but the moment the gallant horsemen appeared, a party of Highlanders marched out of the castle and formed in order to receive them, and so the party from Edinburgh, thinking, as at Leith, that the better part of valour was dis-

cretion, wheeled round and returned to the city. On the following morning (Monday, the 17th October), Lord Torphichen and the Earl of Rothes made a similar attack, and with similar results.

The Highlanders liked their new position too well to be in any hurry to leave it. Their foraging parties brought in provisions in abundance, and never had the *ceathairnich* a better opportunity for driving *creachs*, and the opportunity was very well used. On the 19th, however, they left Seaton House for England, in accordance with despatches received from the Earl of Mar, and a pressing letter from Mr. Forster, to join at Kelso or Coldstream, without delay, the small body of rebels which had been raised in Dumfries by Lord Kenmure. General Whitman followed the Highlanders with his horse, but did little damage beyond capturing a few stragglers. The Northumberland rebels were also on the March to Kelso at the time the Highlanders left Seaton, and the three bodies formed a junction in that town upon the 22nd October. The Scots cavalry mustered at Kelso paid the Highlanders the well-merited compliment of going out to meet them, and of escorting them, amidst general enthusiasm, into the town. The Earl of Kenmure assumed the command of the army, which now amounted to 1,500 foot and 600 horse.





XXV.

AT Kelso, Brigadier M'Intosh was superseded by Lord Kenmure as Commander-in-Chief, of the expeditionary force, now recruited by the junction of the Border and Northumberland Jacobites. The Highlanders took the change of commanders, and the comparative insignificance into which they themselves had fallen in the presence of the southern horse, and the proud and high-bred cavaliers of England, whose haughty overbearing conduct was on the occasion but ill-supported by the number of followers they brought to support the common cause, in high dudgeon ; and it needed but a spark of contention among the leaders to light up a general conflagration. That was soon supplied. Being informed that General Carpenter, at the head of a royal force, was on the march to surprise them at Kelso, Kenmure called a council of war to consider and determine as to the course proper to be pursued. The Earl of Winton and Brigadier M'Intosh, supported by Menzies of Culdares, Stewart of Kynachin—in fact, by all the Perthshire chieftains—proposed, as there were no hopes of a rising in England, and as, in the absence of such hopes it would be madness, with a handful of men, to cross the borders, to march back by the western coasts, attacking Dumfries and Glasgow on the way, and, joining the Jacobites in these parts, cross the Forth above Stirling, or else send the Earl of Mar word that they would fall upon the

Duke of Argyle's rear while he fell on the front. It was lucky for the establishment of peace in Scotland that the plan was thwarted. The battle of Dunblane could scarcely have been what it was with M'Intosh's Highlanders pressing on Argyle's rear; and the Duke's army defeated, the Stuart cause might gain an ascendancy in Scotland dangerous to the existence of Great Britain as a united kingdom. The spirit of the border *mosstrooper* survived in the southern horse; they shouted for a march or raid into England. The English rebels strenuously supported the same counsel, and showed, that, by crossing the Tweed, Carpenter and his forces could be easily surprised, and the English Jacobites would flock to them in thousands. The council finally determined upon marching into England; but the opposition of the Highland gentlemen was only overborne for a time, to break out anew under a more dangerous aspect. On the 29th October, they marched to Hawick; and the Highlanders, understanding from their leaders that they were being led into England against their will and advice, broke out into open mutiny. They separated themselves from the rest, took up a station on Hawick Moor, piled their arms, and declared they would fight the enemy in their own country, but would not leave their wives and children defenceless to go for other people's purposes into England. Upon this dispute, the horse surrounded the foot in order to force them to march south, whereupon the Highlanders cocked their firelocks and said, "If they were to be made a sacrifice, they would choose to have it done in their own country." "'Tis agreed (says the historian Rae) that while in this humour they would allow none to come to speak to them but the Earl of Winton who had

tutored them in this project, assuring them, as indeed it has proven in part, that if they went to England *they would be all cut in pieces or taken and sold for slaves.*" It was at last agreed they would keep together as long as they stayed in Scotland ; but upon any motion of going for England they (the Highlanders) would return back. Upon this understanding they continued their march to Hawick.

At Hawick, means were found to persuade more than one half of the Highlanders to march into England, but the rest would neither bend to persuasion nor force, and returned home to their mountain fastnesses, in disgust at the incapacity of titled leaders, and the supineness of the *fat* English. Many of them were taken prisoners by the way ; but those who escaped spread such unfavourable accounts of matters in the south, as greatly weakened the hands of the Pretender's friends, and accelerated the abandonment of their designs.

The rebels crossed the borders upon the 1st November, and arrived the same day at Brampton, where Mr. Forster opened his commission, by which he was appointed to act as their general in England. On the 2nd they marched to Penrith. Here they met (or rather they did not meet, for they dispersed in consternation before the dreaded Highlanders came in sight) the *posse-comitatus* of Cumberland. The wonderful magic of a name was never better illustrated : 12,000 stalwart English yeomen would not face as many hundreds of the gaunt, grim warriors of the north. The route was pursued without much molestation, by easy marches, to Preston, whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and another of militia retired without striking a blow. This was the limit of success. Regular forces, pre



posterously out of proportion with the handful against which they were marching, gradually enclosed the rebels in a network of steel. General Willis, with six regiments of foot, attacked the town in two places on the 12th November, and was repulsed by the rebels with considerable loss. General Carpenter arrived next morning with three other regiments of horse. The town, not very tenable by a larger force, was completely invested. The Highlanders had no artillery ; and abhorring to be as they said, worried like foxes in a "*garraidh*," they resolutely proposed to cut their way through the royal host, or perish in the attempt. Forster, however, offered to surrender at discretion ; and the Highlanders, deserted by their English allies, were, after much difficulty, over-ruled, and the whole gave up their arms and were imprisoned—the common men at Chester and Liverpool, and the leaders and chiefs sent to London, and conveyed through the streets to the Tower and Newgate, with their arms pinioned as malefactors.

The Highlanders went to England at the pressing solicitations of English Jacobites. They had been promised at Hawick, that, as soon as they crossed the border, 20,000 men would flock to their banner. How was the promise fulfilled ? They traversed the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland without obtaining a single recruit. A few common people joined them in Lancashire, but not a man of family and influence. The Earl of Derwentwater was not imitated by his compeers. Look at the Stuart papers ; how much was expected from England ? how little from Scotland ? It is plain the rebellion of 1715 had been planned in England, and its infancy fostered by an ultra-

English Cabinet. The raising of the Braemar standard, and simultaneous gathering of a mighty host, were Scotland's response to the bold plots of Bolingbroke and the timid wiles of Harley. True, when the Highlanders crossed the border, Oxford was in disgrace and Bolingbroke in exile; but where were the southern Jacobites—the strong faction that had ruled England for the previous four years? Where the phalanx of Lords and Commons, who, from the 8th August, 1710, when Godolphin and the Whigs were dismissed, to the 1st August, 1714, when Argyle burst upon the dismayed and irresolute Council of incipient traitors to crush treason in the bud, had been paving, as it were, in their shirt sleeves, the road of restoration for the Stuarts? Where the learned doctors who taught passive obedience and non-resistance, and proved the hereditary indefeasible right of the Chevalier de St. George as easily and satisfactorily as the first problem in Euclid?

It is an ascertained fact that England of modern days shows, on entering upon momentous affairs, more of the spirit of Athelstane the Unready than of the fiery race of Normandy. The aristocracy were generally high-prerogative and high-church at heart; but their heavy pledges to fortune prevented them from joining in a rebellion, the success of which was not beyond the caprice of chance. They could not, in a civil war, bring the same material support, at a moment's warning, to the side they espoused, as the poorest peer in Scotland—the beggarly Lovat, for instance—because in England there was a sharp distinction of classes, and the clannish spirit which bound high and low in common sympathies had never been known. The sensible middle classes in England, in this very quarrel, sup-

ported with uniform heartiness the cause of civil liberty and of the Protestant succession ; while the lowest classes cared not a straw who gained or lost, provided they saved their "own bacon."

Lord Bolingbroke's plans were astutely laid, but seemingly the extent of his wisdom led him astray. For the ultimate safety of British liberty, kind Providence ordained he should have been a diligent and discriminating student of history. He knew the nature of his countrymen too well to expect a restoration, except through the bloodless and constitutional way of parliamentary sanction. He was taught by the history of the preceding century, that the continuity of the absolute monarchy to be founded on such a restoration could be guaranteed only on the condition of melting down and recasting the national character. He prepared with singular audacity to bring both results about ; the first, by constituting the high-prerogative party the ruling mind of the country, through a strict Tory Parliament, which had been suddenly changed from a triennial to a septennial lease of existence ; the second, by shutting the door of public office and employment, through the revival of the Sacramental Test, upon the friends of liberty and true representatives of Covenanters and Puritans, and by a series of measures, either passed or proposed to be passed, by which the governing body should exclusively belong to the Church of England, and by which that Church should henceforward and for ever become the slave of a Popish monarch, or his sceptic satrap. Scotland, too, entered into his comprehensive schemes of universal subjugation. The Scottish nobles, with a few exceptions, hated the blue banner of the Covenant like the "gates of

hell." But when Presbyterianism triumphed in spite of them, they found it expedient to court the object of hatred and recent persecutions; the sons and grandsons of persecutors sat in the Assembly of 1710; but soon titled names diminished and gradually disappeared, till in a very short period only a few empty ones (empty names, for the owners seldom attended), as at present, remained to grace the roll of membership. Why was this? Well, that last very patriotic ministry of Queen Anne, by two cleverly devised measures, released the gentry from unpleasant Presbyterian parity, and gave them the power, as of yore, to "lord it over God's heritage." The Act of Toleration, passed in 1711, extended valuable privileges, and afforded a legal footing to the semi-popish Episcopal Church, which, as a more exclusive and aristocratic religious community, and as the champion of those ideas palatable to feudal pride and Jacobitical leaning, gathered at once into its folds the Toryism of Scotland. It was not in any way an act of homage to the rights of conscience—(conscience and Scottish Episcopacy could scarcely be spoken of in the same breath; as it was a pariah of the State from the beginning)—the infidel secretary had no such word in his vocabulary, but a home-thrust at the political influence of the Church of Scotland. This blow was immediately followed by another still more fatal. "The next step taken by this Tory Parliament, against the Established Church of Scotland, was, to restore Patronage, thus depriving the people of their just power of choosing and calling their own ministers, and lodging that power in the hands of the Patrons of the several parishes, with a view to fill up the vacancies with such as might afterwards serve their designs in case of a

new revolution ; to give them an opportunity to keep the livings in their own hands ; or to employ them for the support of Jacobite Conventicles ; which 'tis known they actually did in many parts of the nation ; and to irritate the people against the Church for yielding to that which they cou'd not help, and wou'd fain had stopped."

Such were the cool, far-seeing projects by which the rehabilitation of hereditary right was to be made conditional upon casting the future mind of Britain in a Helot mould, and upon drugging the springs of religion with the specifics of state policy, to make it subserve the minister or monarch of the day. Everything was in train for a legislative restoration ; but lo ! Anne dies, and the splendid conspiracy bursts like a soap bubble ; and the daring plotter sees the projects rife with plagues for his country fail to bring about his primary object, quarrels with the prince on whose behoof he sold himself to evil, returns again to live under the safeguard of the constitution he half-subverted, and, after a life of vicissitudes, unfortunate for himself, and detrimental to his country, dies well deserving, by his infidel works, published by Mallet after his death, the unforgotten censure of Johnston—"He was a villain and a coward, sir ; a villain, for charging a blunderbuss against morality and religion ; and a coward, for not daring to fire it off, but leaving a shilling to a beggarly Scotchman to do it after his death."

But let us turn to the eneaged dupes of the English conspirators. The word was, "Behead and quarter ; hang and slay." Menzies of Culdares, against whom a *billa vera* had been found, after a pretty long imprisonment, was pardoned on account of his youth, being under 21. The

other officers and chiefs were not so fortunate, several of them being put to death. The common men got seven years' penal servitude in the colonies. The Glenlyon men were mostly sent to Maryland, from which few ever returned. There is an authentic story told of one of them which is worth recounting.

John M'Intyre, Moar, Glenlyon, was betrothed to a young woman before he joined the rebels. Being taken at Preston, he was sentenced to seven years' transportation with his companions. When made aware of his fate, he managed to send word to his betrothed, that he would return, if alive, when his term expired; but that if he did not come home at the end of the eighth year, she might conclude he was dead. The Maryland planter whose bondsman he became was a hard taskmaster; he stated afterwards, that he received more kindness from a negro slave who was his fellow-workman than from any person of his own country and colour in America. When his time was nearly out, while he and this negro were working in the wood, one of the planter's horses was killed by the falling of a tree. M'Intyre was adjudged to an additional year's servitude. Meantime his betrothed counted the days, and awaited their expiry with some apprehension, as, after much solicitation, she had been obliged to promise her friends, who did not approve of her fidelity, to accept of another suitor for her hand if M'Intyre appeared not at the time he had set himself. The eighth year passed over her, and no word of the exile. She still delayed, and put off, till the family council would bear it no longer; and so, well on in the ninth year after the rebellion she yielded obedience, and the night of "*ceanghall*" with the new suitor was ap-



pointed. No one more strongly advised her to obey her friends than M'Intyre's widowed mother, who considered her son dead by this time, or despaired, if alive, of ever seeing him again. The widow, however, did not appear at the "betrothal," as she promised; and the reluctant bride, glad of the opportunity of escaping for a while, insisted upon going to see what hindered her. The old woman told her a beggar had asked for hospitality, and she was obliged to keep at home to entertain him. It was immediately proposed by the bride to invite the beggar and his entertainer both to the "ceanghall" feast. With this purpose, going into the hut to address him, she discovered to her great delight her old betrothed in the stranger, who had struggled home to claim his bride; but finding her on the point of marrying another, hesitated to reveal who he was, till thus accidentally unmasked by the eye of affection. It was not yet too late. The new suitor was discarded, and the old one installed in his place; and long and happily lived together the faithful couple that made "love the lord of all."





## XXVI.

JOHN CAMPBELL of Glenlyon took such a conspicuous part in the rebellion of 1716, that on the collapse thereof he had to leave the country. With Struan and other acquaintances he succeeded in escaping to France. He remained for some years in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, where he lived under the name of "John Smith." Had he been caught red-handed after the battle of Dunblane, he would, no doubt, have been put to death, as he was the man who first took up arms and invaded the loyal county of Argyle; but when the fear and vindictiveness of the Hanoverian dynasty had time to diminish, influences were brought to bear on the Ministry and on the Court in favour of the escaped rebels, which in most instances proved successful. The Duke of Argyle used all his power to get Glenlyon and his neighbour, the "Elector" of Struan, free pardons. The Breadalbane influence also was now strong, and it was strongly used on Glenlyon's behalf. "Pale John," the first Earl of Breadalbane, was by this time dead. He was succeeded by his second son, John, Lord Glenorchy, who was a strong Hanoverian. His eldest son, Duncan, Lord Ormelie, was set aside because of his imbecility. They were both the sons of the first earl, by his first wife, Mary Rich, daughter of the Earl of Holland, who lost his life for his loyalty to Charles I. Duncan's

weakness was so apparent, that when the title of earl was conferred on his father by Charles II., the patent itself contained a clause for setting him aside. He lived for many long years, after his brother's succession to estates and titles, in the care of a man of the name of M'Intyre, at Killin, where he said many sharp things, and did many foolish acts. M'Intyre himself was a character in his way. He was nick-named *Curam-an-t-saoghail* or "Care-of-the-world." The estate of Breadalbane was at this time under trust to save it from forfeiture, as well as to pay creditors. The new earl was therefore poor enough, but being loyal to the Whig Government, he exercised considerable influence in his own region, and his son, Lord Glenorchy, by his marriage with the heiress of the Duke of Kent, obtained a footing at Court, and among the English nobility, which he kept to the end of his long life, although he quickly lost his heiress wife, who died in giving birth to a daughter, afterwards the Marchioness of Grey. Thanks to the efforts of his powerful clansmen, John Campbell of Glenlyon was allowed, in the course of a few years, to return to his home, as if he had not rebelled at all. During his exile his wife and family were not interfered with. He constituted Duncan M'Gregor of Roro, who called himself "Duncan Campbell," his *negotiorum gestor*, or factor, during absence. Money was regularly remitted to him, and his wife managed matters so well at home, that he had really on his return great cause to be thankful. It is, however, by quarrels between himself and Duncan M'Gregor his factor, that we can prove he returned home before 1722. On his coming back he proceeded forthwith to build Glenlyon House, for which he got timber from the sawmill at Roro. The estate

of Roro is now bare enough of timber. But it had then so much of it that it kept a sawmill going. The superiority of Roro had by this time been acquired by the Earl of Breadalbane, who also had a mortgage upon the lands of the vassal M'Gregors of Roro. The M'Gregors opposed the delivery of the timber to Glenlyon; and so we find the Breadalbane Trustees thus writing "to John Campbell, younger, of Roro," who was of course the younger M'Gregor:—

"SIR—the delivery of the sawmill cut stocks and made deals at Roro to Glenlyon, has been verrie long, and we apprehend, unnecessarily delay'd. This is to desire you forthwith to deliver all these things above mentioned to Glenlyon, and let his men of skill be brought to the sawmill who shall make inventory of the mill and its appurtenances and appretiate them all, mentioning the condition in which the mill was and what it now is. The rule, in case of woods, with regard to the grass, is, that what's before the ox belongs to the cutter. We recommend to you to accomodate Glenlyon in that particular as well as the place will allow, without making any difficulties. And we recommend to your father and you to use the best means you can to restrain the tenants of the Wadsett lands from cutting or carreing away any of the fir and timber; for we agree that if any of these are faulty or criminal in that behalf, that Glenlyon use them with the utmost rigour and severity. Again we insist upon it that you make all this matter easy to Glenlyon. We are pretty sure 'twill be doing yourself a service as it shall be agreeable to

Your Humble Servants,

PAT. CAMPBELL.  
COLIN CAMPBELL.

MONZIE, 25th MAY, 1725.

The young M'Gregors resisted Glenlyon's men after this warning, and had to be again sharply threatened by the

Breadalbane Trustees, who finally forced them to yield. But Duncan M'Gregor, *alias* Campbell, their father, hampered Glenlyon on his return from France in another way. Before his exile Glenlyon owed Duncan M'Lean Ardrasgairt 300 merks, for which Duncan held Glenlyon's bond. M'Gregor bought, or in some way acquired, M'Lean's bond, and no sooner did Glenlyon return than his late factor got a charge of horning against him for the payment of capital, interest and penalties. To say the least of it, this was sharp practice, and Glenlyon, resisting the sort of payment demanded, asked for a suspension of proceedings, as shown by the following minute of what took place before the Court of Session judge, Lord Newhall, on the 29th June, 1723, the agents for the respective parties being Macleod and Fleming:—"Macleod accepts the charge founded upon a bond by the suspender to Duncan M'Lean, and assigned by him to the charger, and craves the letters may be found orderly proceeded. Fleming repeats his reasons of suspension *Primo*, that the suspender being necessarily abroad, out of the country, that the charger during that time was his *negotiorum gestor*, and as such concerned in setting his lands, uplifting of his rents, and holding of his courts; therefore any debts of the suspender's transacted by the charger, or to which he acquired right in that period, ought to be subject and liable to the same exceptions and manner of probation that they would have been liable to, had they remained in the person of the cedent; and it is offered to be proven that the debt charged for is paid to the cedent or to others by his orders, *scripto vel juramento* of the cedent: *2do*. It is presumed to have been done with the suspender's own money and effects, at

least any cause given to the charger when he acquired the right to the foresaid debt; and further, *3tio*. The suspender alleges and offers to instruct compensation of the sums charged for by debts due by M'Lean, the creditor in the bond charged on, and the charger cedent, which were paid by the suspender on his account, and partly assigned to him—which instruction of compensation the suspender shall produce *in termine*." Macleod objected on technical grounds, but Lord Newhall on the condition that the suspender consigned into the clerk's hands twelve pounds Scot, sustained the reasons of suspension, and when the action came to be decided on its merits, M'Gregor made no profit out of his sharp practices.

On his return from France, as previously mentioned, Glenlyon began to build Glenlyon House. He and his family had hitherto lived at Chesthill with his mother, Helen Lindsay. The farm and house of Chesthill had been settled on her at her marriage with Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, to whom she bore a numerous family of daughters, besides Laird John and Robert—the best swordsman of his age, but a wild scamp—who was a lieutenant in Lord Carmichael's Regiment of Horse. The daughters were said to be very good looking, and although poor, were sought in marriage by neighbouring lairds. Robert Campbell of Boreland married Janet, the eldest of the daughters, who thus became grandmother of the first Marquis of Breadalbane. Macnab of Macnab married another of them, and Alexander Campbell of Ardeonaig a third. One was drowned in the Lyon, and her body never recovered. Helen Lindsay's nephew—or perhaps a younger brother—figured badly in the massacre of Glencoe.



Popular opinion attributed to Helen's extravagance the loss of the estate, and the misfortunes of her husband. On her death, about 1726, Chesthill fell in to James Menzies of Culdres, who thereupon had a tiff with his neighbour and brother Jacobite about teind sheaves.

Glenlyon was by no means a contentious man, but after his return from France, it seemed as if he never could get free from contentions for the remainder of his life. The boundary of his estate was difficult to settle, for different encroachments had almost become rights, and the Duke of Athole had to intervene, after swords had been drawn and blows given. But after the marches had been "cleared," another hitch took place; for on the 13th August, 1731, His Grace James, Duke of Athole, complained to the Bailie of his own court at Logierait "on Mr. John Menzies son to Captain James Menzies of Comrie, that when in the month of September, 1730, His Grace, on the one part, and John Campbell of Glenlyon, on the other part, having cleared marches betwixt Easter Drumcharry and East-end of Fortingall, they signed articles thereanent, and deposited them in the defender's hands until they should be registered, that each party should have one extract since there was but one double of the principal; therefore the said defender should be descerned to exhibit the said articles in the Clerk of Court's hand to be registered as effeired." The Bailie, Alexander Murray, decerned accordingly, and the defender promptly obeyed.

John, the Laird's eldest son, a dark, stern, honourable, and persevering youth, who had never the slightest sympathy with his father's Jacobite views, and who believed that "the curse of Glencoe" lay heavy upon himself and

the family to whom he belonged, after having been attached to an Independent Company, obtained a commission in the Black Watch, or *Freiceadan Dubh*. The second son, David, became, on the 5th of July, 1738, bound apprentice for three years to "James Smyth, chyrurgeon-apothecary in Perth," to learn "the art and science of pharmacy and chyrurgery." The Laird paid down 600 merks as apprentice fee, and bound himself to keep the lad in clothes and pay for his washing, while the master bound himself to give him bed and board, on conditions of perfect obedience, and to make him carry himself discreetly and attend divine worship on the Lord's Day. David, after learning all the Perth master could teach him, completed his medical training, I believe, in Edinburgh, and about 1744 went to Jamaica, where he remained nearly thirty years; and was a credit to his profession and the country of his birth, although from his generous and honourable nature he did not make much of a fortune. Dr. David had much trouble with his next brother, Duncan, who followed him to Jamaica, flourished for a while, took then to irregular ways, and next engaged in the slave trade, if, indeed, he did not go the length of piracy. Duncan finally disappeared on the Spanish coast of South America, where according to some reports he assumed a Spanish name and married a Spanish lady; but it was the belief of his own family that he came to a violent end, and not in Peru or Chili. Be that as it may, he gave Dr. David trouble at the beginning of his career in Jamaica. Laird John's eldest daughter before her brother left home, married Balneaves of Edradour. She was the only one of her father's children, male or female—and there were eight of them who lived to good age—that ever married. Miss

Kitty, Miss Molly, and Miss Jennie, were not indeed so bonnie, nor perhaps so accomplished, as their tocherless aunts, but they were honest, kindly women, who in their small sphere did some good, and were respected by high and low. Archie Roy, the youngest son, and last of the family except Jennie, was the Laird's favourite. With stern John, his able soldier son, who gained his captaincy amidst the thunders of Fontenoy, where the bravery of the Black Watch astonished Europe, the Jacobite Laird had little sympathy. That eldest son of his redeemed his debts, kept him out of wasteful lawsuits, and was the real stay of the family, but his father thought him a hard taskmaster, and the rebellion of 1745 severed them entirely.

"The Elector of Struan" and Glenlyon were too old for active service in the field when Prince Charlie unfurled the White Standard of the Stuarts for the last time on British soil. They were not, however, too old to fan the flames of civil war and send other men to the field. Glenlyon, it is supposed, was the man who caused the fiery cross to be sent round Breadalbane to raise recruits for the Prince, in spite of Breadalbane's Earl, and of his son Lord Glenorchy, who was actively mustering forces on King George's side, and who, by holding the passes and old Grampian line of defence with three thousand men, forced the Prince and his clans after Falkirk to skirt the hills and follow the east coast route—which proved their ruin—to fatal Culloden. The Laird sent his own darling son, Archie Roy, to fight for the Prince, although Archie was at the time only a sunny-faced lad of fifteen. James Menzies of Culdares sent the Prince secretly a gift horse of dun colour—*au t-each odhar* of evil fame—to mark his loyalty, by John M'Naughtan,

who subsequently was hanged at Carlisle, not as Glenlyon, opinion would have it, because he would not tell who sent the horse, but because he despatched Colonel Gardner with a seythe stroke, when he lay wounded on the field of Prestonpans. Yet, although this was the crime for which John was tried and hanged, it may be true enough that he could save his life by betraying Culdares—which with Highland fidelity he refused to do. As Culdares acted with more prudence than Glenlyon, the Jacobites of Glenlyon and Fortingall looked to Archie Roy as their only local leader, although he was truly too young to lead.

When the rebellion collapsed, old Struan and old Glenlyon deemed it prudent to go into hiding places. Archie Roy, who was in real danger, spent the summer after Culloden in the sheilings at Loehs, passing as the son of Patriek Campbell Roroyarc. His father was in no danger whatever, although very much afraid of his own son and of Mr. Fergus Ferguson, the uncompromising minister of Fortingall, who had, by his boldness in speech and action, prevented many wavering people from taking the Prince's side when the sun shone on it, and who now justified the policy of Cumberland and the Government to handle matters in such a way as to make another Stuart rising impossible. The Laird did not go further than the Black Wood of Chesthill, and Patriek M'Arthur his old tenant, for a hiding-place and a safe protector. Lieutenant John, his heir, was unfortunately sent by the Government to burn the houses of the Bunrannoch rebels, and this made the old Laird's cup of bitterness run over, although it was admitted that Lieutenant John, and indeed all the officers and men of the Black Watch, carried out their orders with exceeding

reluctance, and with all possible consideration for the rebels.

The son, whom the broken-down old Jacobite declared in his wrath to be no son of his, strained every nerve to get protections for his father and young brother. His own merits and the influence of Argyle and Breadalbane enabled him to succeed. Before the end of the summer after Culloden, Genlyon returned to the bosom of his family once more a free man, but he never recovered health or spirits any more. He must have died at the beginning of the year 1746, for we find his wife, as *factrix* for her son Lieutenant John, on April 30th, 1747, caused the farm stock belonging to him to be sold by public roup. At the time of his death, Glenlyon had not much land in his own hands. His stock consisted of thirty-three goats which were bought by James Menzies at the Milne of Aberfeldy, for one hundred and sixteen pounds, twelve shillings Scots; forty sheep sold to the said James Menzies for the very same sum he paid for the thirty-three goats; seventeen cows bought by Alexander Cameron, forester of Mamlorne, at £20 Scots, or £1 3s. 4d. Sterling per head; and a black horse which James Campbell, dyer, Killin, bought for £61 4s. Scots. When the old Laird died, the leading Jacobites of the district were still in hiding, or out of the country. Still he had a great funeral. If the gentry were not so numerous as they would have been in other circumstances, the common people gathered from far and near in great numbers to pay their last mark of respect to a man who had always been popular with high and low.



## XXVII.

JOHN CAMPBELL of Glenlyon who came afterwards to be called, "An Coirneal Dubh"—"The Black Colonel," received his commission as a lieutenant in the Black Watch, or 42nd regiment, in December, 1744, but he was connected with an Independent Company long before the regiment was embodied. When appointed a lieutenant of the additional companies then about to be raised, he was with the army in Flanders. His conduct at Fontenoy attracted the notice of the Duke of Cumberland, and he was promised a captaincy without purchase as soon a vacancy occurred. That promise was fulfilled in March, 1748, when he was made an additional captain; but instead of remaining with the Highlanders, he went on half pay, and almost immediately exchanged into the Marines. The true explanation for this proceeding is to be found in the strange fatalism of the man. From his boyhood to his grave he believed that it was his fate to bear an inherited curse. As a man who remembered him once told me—" *Bu duine air leth an Coirneal Dubh, oir b'e bheachd fhein riamh gu'n robh seun mallachd Ghlinne-comhann air.*" "A man by himself was the Black Colonel; for he ever believed that the evil spell of the curse of Glencoe was upon him." It became his and Captain James Menzies of Comrie's sad burden to be ordered to burn the houses,



drive away the cattle, and capture the persons of Perthshire Highland friends and relatives who had been with Prince Charlie. They performed their disagreeable duties with as little harshness, and as much forbearance, as their orders and duty permitted. That, however, did not save them from Jacobite obloquy, and the coarse satires of Allan Stewart of Innerhadden. To young Glenlyon, whose father and brother were fugitive rebels, the cross was particularly heavy. He attributed his misfortune to the curse of Glencoe, and the feeling that he was fated to die an evil weird through a long life grew upon him. The *Caledonian Mercury* of March, 1747, contains the following paragraph :—

“ Lieutenant John Campbell of Glenlyon, and Ensign John Grant of Glenmoriston, with a strong detachment from the additional companies of the Black Watch, sailed in the fleet for Flanders. When it was notified to the men that only a part of them was to join the army, all claimed the preference to be permitted to embark, and it was necessary to draw lots, as none would remain behind.”

Glenlyon fought with distinction through the campaign in Flanders, and got his step without purchase ; but when his regiment returned to England in 1748, he exchanged into the Marines because he wished to sever himself as much as possible from all scenes and associations which recalled the curse of Glencoe. A few Highlanders of his district followed him, however, rather against his wish, into a branch of the service which had not hitherto been popular with them. These men used long afterwards to tell their children and grandchildren how the shadow of the curse darkened Glenlyon's life wherever he went. They described him as a man who seldom laughed, except on battle days, a stern disciplinarian, but a just and kindly commander, who took greater care of his men than of himself. “ *Be*

*caraid a dhaoine e's b'e'n laoch's an iomairt e."* "He was the friend of his men and the hero in the strife," said a man whose grandfather had long served under him, and who no doubt faithfully repeated that grandfather's opinion of his commander.

He put the affairs of his estate in the best order he could, and constituted his mother his *factrix* before leaving for Flanders in 1747. From that year till 1769, he was always on active service in different parts of the world. He was with Admiral Rodney's expedition, and commanded eight hundred Marines at the capture of Havannah in 1762. On that occasion he earned not only a great deal of praise, but of prize money also. His estate meanwhile had been cleared of debt. His mother—advised in difficult cases by 'John Campbell of the Bank,'—proved herself to be the best of managers. She and her daughters lived quietly, plainly, but hospitably and happily, at Glenlyon House. For some time after his rehabilitation, Archie Roy, the young ex-rebel, lived with his family, and no one could, if we may trust the reports handed down, go nearer extracting sunshine from cucumbers than he. His sister Molly was also full of merriment, while Kitty was sarcastic, and Jennie, the youngest, was quaint and credulous. In 1749, the Rev. Fergus Ferguson, minister of Fortingall, died, and the Jacobites of the parish were far from sorry. They had done their best to ostracise him; but he was not the man to stand that sort of thing. It was whispered, however, that his death resulted from being tumbled into the river, as if by an accident, out of the ferry boat at Laggan, on a dark night, by a vengeful Jacobite. The plunge into the wintry water gave him a cold, which he neglected, and the

cold carried him off. It was said that "he walked" after his death. He had acted manfully and faithfully according to his conscience and views, and if he was not to be stopped by trifles from keeping his parishioners by all means in his power from rushing into rebellion, after Culloden he appears to have acted more kindly towards the rebels than some of them were prepared to act towards him.

Archie Roy, like his brothers John and David, was well educated. They all possessed in a remarkable degree the gift of writing sprightly, well-composed, and well-spelt letters. But the Coirneal Dubh, until he retired from active service, was generally content with sending home short business missives, and David was at times prosy, while some way or other the youngest brother always bubbled over with light-hearted humour, even when he wished to be solemn and serious. They all received their early education at the Fortingall parish school, which had then an excellent classical scholar as teacher, but I suppose they must have afterwards been to St. Andrew's, or Edinburgh, before going out into the world, although it is sure in Archie's case that he had not been to college before he followed Prince Charlie. He had however plenty of time afterwards to complete his education. The sisters were by no means so well educated as the brothers, perhaps because they could not be sent, like the boys, to the parish school, and because governesses were then scarce. Sarcastic Kitty could write smartly, but her spelling was of the most irregular phonetic kind imaginable. Molly wrote like a school-girl, with some trouble, and uncertain efforts at correctness, while Jennie could do little more than just sign her name.

On the 5th January, 1757, Archie Roy received a commission as lieutenant in the 75th Regiment, or Fraser's Highlanders, the colonel and many officers and men of which were ex-rebels like himself. The regiment was instantly sent to America. It landed at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in June, 1757. Many Glenlyon and Fortingall lads followed Archie Roy to the field, as they did eleven years earlier, when he was only a boy, to Prestonpans, Derby, Falkirk, and Culloden. The 75th joined the expedition against Lewisburg, and fought nobly throughout the whole of the war, which ended in the British conquest of Canada. Archie Roy was one of the officers wounded in the successful defence of Quebec, on the 28th of April, 1760. It was supposed at first that he could not recover, and although he did recover, and that quickly too, his wound gave him a good deal of trouble for the rest of his life, and in the end shortened his days. He received his commission as captain before he was out of hospital, and remained at Quebec for the next two years, and then returned home with his regiment, or at least with as much of it as wished to return home instead of settling on land grants in Canada. As the regiment was disbanded on coming home, Captain Campbell retired from the service on half-pay, and lived at Glenlyon House for some years with his mother and sisters.

The following case in which he acted as Major Macpherson's agent, while at Quebec, shows how the purchase system worked in the old times.

*"Copie of the claim given in by Capt. Archibald Campbell to the gentlemen arbitrators.*

"GENTLEMEN,

I shall here lay before you, as briefly as I can, every-

thing relating to the purchase and sale of Major M'Pherson's Company, late of the 78th Regiment.

"When the said major gave in his resignation, October, 1760, Captain Campbell of the said regiment was recommended to be his successor to the majority, and Lieutenant David Baillie was also recommended, as purchaser of Captain Campbell's Company, for both which the said major was to receive £1,500 sterling to be paid to him in the following manner :

"Major Campbell to pay £400 for the majority, Lieut. Baillie to pay £800 for the company, the lieutenant and ensign to pay the remaining £300 which made up the sum above mentioned.

"Colonel Fraser engaged to give sterling bills to this amount (on Baillie's account) if Lieut. Baillie was approved of and got the company. On account of Baillie's youth and short service, His Excellency, General Amherst, refused giving him the purchase at that time, but gave Major M'Pherson leave to go home.

"On this occasion the major left a power in my hands to receive the price of his company, and to give his successor, or any concerned, discharges for the same.

"About the middle of March, 1761, Lieut. John Nairn was recommended as purchaser of the said company, whose former service and rank in the regiment instituted to the purchase, preferable to Lieut. Baillie. Sometime in June following his commission was sent to the commanding officer of the regiment, dated 24th April, 1761.

"In July after, Captain John Nairn paid £600 of the purchase money in sterling bills of exchange, and made an offer of £400 more in cash to Major Campbell at the exchange of 4s. 8d. or 4s. 10d. per dollar, as no bills of exchange could be purchased at that rate in town. The said major or any concerned could not accept of this money, as they could not remitt it home without a considerable discompt.

"I Imagine, as Lieut. Nairn succeeded to Lieut. Baillie's purchase, he is certainly liable to all the agreements made with the said Baillie, as there was no other made with him, or any other on his account.

"I beg that the gentlemen arbitrators will consider the above, and determine whether it is not in like cases agreeable to the practice of the army, that Captain Nairn should be made liable to pay the sum promised and agreed upon with Baillie, and also the manner in which the same ought to be paid ; and lastly, whether it is not agreeable to the said practice, that the purchaser should pay the lawfull interest for

the money agreed upon from the date of his commission till the arrival of the bills, and until these bills are accepted of ; especially as the payment is so long deferred, as in this case it is, and by what appears to me an omission in the purchaser.

“ I beg leave to inform you, gentlemen, that the aforesaid sum of £400 lies still in Major Campbell’s hands, dead to the purchaser and seller since July last,

And am, &c.,

ARCHD. CAMPBELL.”

“ Copie of the Sentence of the Arbitrators.

“ Whereas the Honourable James Murray, Esqr., Governor of Quebec, in behalf of Captain John Nairn, of the 78th regiment, on the one part, and Captain Archibald Campbell of the said regiment in behalf of John M’Pherson, Esqr., late major also of the said regiment on the other part, have thought proper by an instrument dated the 5th day of this present month of April, to nominate and appoint us whose names are underwritten to be arbitrators and umpires in a dispute arisen between said Major M’Pherson and Captain John Nairn, in relation to a company purchased by the latter from the former in the said 78th Regiment.

“ We, the arbitrators, having taken the same into our most serious consideration, and heard all that the several parties had to say on the occasion, having also enquired into the usual price paid for companies in the 78th Regiment, which we find by the concurrent testimony of Captains Archibald and Alexander Campbell of the said regiment, to have never at any time exceeded one thousand pounds sterling.

“ We, the said arbitrators, unanimously award that Captain John Nairn do pay unto Major John M’Pherson the sum of one thousand pounds sterling for the company according to the custom of the said regiment, and as it would be the height of injustice for Captain Nairn to be bound by a bargain made with his junior in the same regiment, to whom on that account and by reason of his youth it was of the highest consequence at any price to gain rank.

“ As the delay of payment has been owing to Major M’Pherson’s claiming what does not appear to be his right, we, the arbitrators, further judge that Captain Nairn should pay the four hundred pounds



“ And that during the said period he shall appoint Pat. Murray as his depute, and that Mr. James Murray continue Clerk of Supply.

“ That Captain Campbell pay to the said Patrick Murray the like sum of £65 during his continuance in office, but with the burden of relieving

“ For the foregoing reasons the Arbitrators cannot think Major M’Pherson entitled to any interest on the said purchaser’s money.

“ Given under our hands at Quebec, this *6th day of April*, 1762.

(Signed)

“ P. ÆMIS. IRVING.

“ SAML. GARDINER.

“ H. T. CRAMAHE.

“ A true Copy, H. T. CRAMAHE, *Secy.*”

In 1766, Captain Campbell was a candidate for the office of Collector of Cess in Perthshire. The Earl of Breadalbane—*Jain Dubh na rionnaig*—“ Black John of the Star,” was his chief patron, and he had a good many other friends, but as the issue was doubtful, he and other candidates entered into the following strange agreement:—

“ EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE IN EDINBURGH.

*4th March*, 1766.

“ Proposals for preventing any struggle among the friends of Captain Campbell, Captain Stewart, and James and Patrick Murray, three candidates for being chosen Collector of the Supply, in the County of Perth, at next annual election.

“ That the friends of these three parties unite their interest in the choice of Captain Campbell as collector.

“ That the captain have the right of exaction as to the cess, so of the whole salaries, fees, and perquisites thereto belonging.

“ That during his continuance in office he give security to Captain Stewart, annually, for £65 sterling.

lying in Major Campbell's hands in Sterling at the Exchange, current in Quebec at the time that money was deposited, said rate to be ascertained by two paymasters of regiments, or two merchants at the option of the parties.

the collector of his salary establisht, or to be establisht, by the county to the said James Murray as Clerk of Supply.

(Signed),

(Signed),

"DAVID SMYTH, witness.

"ARCHD. CAMPBELL.

"RO. HALDANE, witness.

"JAMES STEWART.

"JOHN CRAIGIE, witness.

"JAMES MURRAY.

"JOHN MACKENZIE, witness.

"JA. ROBERTSON BARCLAY, witness."

The Black Colonel, after twenty years' absence on active service, paid a visit to his property and people in 1769. The following letter to "Captain Archibald Campbell, Brother Germain to Glenlyon," from the Laird of Macnab, fixes the date of his home-coming :

"DEAR SIR,—This moment I was favoured wt yours, and the very agreeable news to me of Glenlyon's safe arrivall in good health, which I wish he long enjoy. The gardner here has engaged with me thir three ensueing years ; and if he had not I would have recommended him sooner than any of his business I ever saw in this parish. Fran and his brother went this morning for Stirling mercat. The young terriers are sent, and as good in kynd as ever I saw. How soon the lads return I shall have the pleasure of waiting on Glenlyon, and family ; to whom my wife with me joyne in compliments, and to the good old and young ladies, not forgetting Captain Archd.

I ever am,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate cusine and humble servant,

JOHN M'NAB.

KINNELL, 30th October, 1769."

The "Fran" of the letter was Francis the heir of Macnab. He was the last chief of his clan that possessed the paternal acres, and a strange character he was. The reference to old as well as young ladics, shows that the Black Colonel had the pleasure of finding his mother—with whom he was always in closer sympathy than he ever had been with his father—alive on his return. She died either that or next year.

Soon after the coming home of the Coirneal Dubh, he and his brother the captain went out to shoot hares, patridges, and whatever else they could find in the Cuil Wood, which was then more extensive than it is now. They were attended by their dependent, John Campbell, whose son, an old veteran of Abercromby's expedition to Egypt, told me the story. It happened that the captain fired at a hare while his brother stood in the line of his fire. The horrified attendant shouted, "You have shot your brother," and both he and the captain rushed to the colonel, who, showing them his cloak riddled with shot, said to his brother: "Don't be afraid. I am not touched. The curse of Glencoe is a spell upon me. I have been in mortal strife many a time, and remained untouched by ball or steel while friends and foes were falling round me. I must drie my weird."

The colonel did not remain long at home. The services of officers of his experience and proved capacity were in high demand; for the first upheaval of the American revolt had taken place, and war was immediately expected. So he went back to his marines, taking a few volunteers, who would not be denied, with him. During the next two years he and his marines went here and there, wherever they were

told to go, and did as well as they could whatever they were told to do. At the end of that time occurred the incident which General Stewart relates as follows, and quite accurately too, with this exception that he forgets to mention it was the colonel himself who by extreme efforts had obtained the man's reprieve :—

“ In 1771, Colonel Campbell was ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-martial on a soldier of marines condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, but the whole ceremony of the execution was to proceed until the criminal was upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive this volley. It was then he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, and the clergyman had left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party were looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand in his pocket for the reprieve, and in pulling out the packet, the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead. The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell's fingers, and, clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, ‘ The curse of God and of Glencoe is here : I am a ruined man.’ He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterwards retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflections or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental. The impression on his mind, however, was never effaced.”





## XXVIII.

THE influence of friends, and the remonstrances of those who were then at the head of the War Department, and who wished, with the American war looming in the near distance, to retain him in the service, failed to alter the Coirneal Dubh's determination to retire as soon as possible after the tragical death of the reprieved marine. He returned to his home at the beginning of May, 1772, and on the 30th of that month, gave his brother, the captain, a discharge on settled accounts for intrusions as his factor, during the four years from Martinmas 1767, to the end of 1770. It appears from this account, that besides having paid to them the small sums due from their father's nearly bankrupt estate, the colonel had, as soon as he could, settled, most generously, liberal annuities on his three unmarried sisters. His old nurse, also, figures in the account for house rent and aliment, and other old dependents of the family and needy relations participated in his generosity. After his return he increased his benefactions. Very little of his rent ever went into his own pocket. His half-pay, prize money, and savings, however, brought him in more income than he required ; and so in course of years he grew rich without an effort. He was abstemious and simple in his habits,

and kept very little company, although those who visited him were treated with Highland hospitality. Towards the local gentry he had a stand-off air which made him more respected than popular among people of his own class. The Earl of Breadalbane, and Mr. Duncan Macara, the minister of Fortingall, were, outside his own family, his only intimate friends. He became much interested in the minister's son and only child, David Macara, who died forty years later at Quatre Bras, at the head of the Black Watch, a colonel in the army and a Knight Commander of the Bath. David Macara, however, had no intention of becoming a soldier, when his youthful dreams of ambition and abundant hopefulness amused and cheered the Black Colonel. He studied medicine, and served long as a doctor in the East Indian Company's service, before he took up the sword. Angus Robertson, from Chesthill, the lad he selected for his gillie when he entered the company's service, went seven times with him to the East Indies. Dr. Macara caught the infection of the national fighting spirit at the outbreak of the great war with France, and having saved a good deal of money, and seen, also, a good deal of fighting, he had no difficulty in changing his profession, and in getting on in the army with more rapidity than younger men, with smaller means, and less ability.

Captain Archibald left the shelter of the family roof in 1770, on being appointed, by the Earl of Breadalbane, chamberlain of his Lorne property. Henceforward, until his death, the captain resided at Ardmady Castle, and his sister Mary, or Molly, kept house for him. He became very popular with both the gentry and common people in Argyleshire. Thirty years ago his memory was still green



among the tenantry of the Breadalbane estate in Lorne. Their highest idea of "the good old times" was derived almost solely, from the period of *Caiptein Ruadh Ghlean-nliomhunn's* chamberlainship. They had many stories about his official goodness and personal liberality. One of these stories told how he punished a miserly man who tried to take his brother's farm underhand. Here it is :— Two brothers lived side by side on farms of unequal value, although they were let at the same rents. Both brothers were married. The elder brother, who had the better farm, was without children. The younger brother, with the worse farm, had many children too young yet to help him. It was a struggle to him, therefore, to pay his rent and maintain his family ; and in a bad year he fell behind in his accounting with the chamberlain. Now his miserly elder brother, knowing this, went to the *Caiptein Ruadh* and offered to take his brother's farm at the old rent, and pay, too, his brother's arrears. And the *Caiptein Ruadh* let him have the farm on the said terms. Now when the struggling brother heard of the affair, he was in a great strait, and sore perplexed ; but his wife said to him—"Take heart and go to the *Caiptein Ruadh* yourself. He is a just man, and he will not see honest hard-working people ruined." And the man went and asked the *Caiptein* if he had really given his farm to his unkind brother ? The *Caiptein* laughed merrily and said :—"Yes, indced, your brother has got your farm and paid your arrears ; but he forgot to take his own farm at the same time. So if you wish to have his farm, you can have it." And so it was settled. The bad brother was punished as he deserved, and the struggling brother prospered ever afterwards.

Notwithstanding his sociality and generous disposition, the captain was a money-making and hard-working man, who liked to keep accounts and everything else very straight. He lent out his savings to needy land owners on heritable security, and exacted good regular interest. He and his sister entertained Pennant during his tour in the Hebrides, and were vastly pleased with him. He was probably an old friend of their brother, the colonel; for on the colonel's coming to Glenlyon House in 1769, he was immediately visited by Pennant, who was on his first tour, and at the time Lord Breadalbane's guest at Taymouth. The colonel showed his visitor the ancient Glenlyon brooch, which he pictured for his book, and the sword-stick of *Donnachadh Ruadh Mac Caillein*. In 1772, the Earl of Breadalbane specially asked his chamberlain in Lorne to organise Pennant's tour—that is, to find gillies, horses, and boats, for him; and the captain carried out his instructions with pleasure. He was not a bad antiquary of the Highland traditional class himself, and Pennant got much information both from him and his brother the Black Colonel.

In his letters to his brother in Jamaica, the captain, ever since his return from Canada, had been constantly harping on the matrimonial string. He hoped for a long time that his brother, the Black Colonel, would marry; and he always assumed that only one of the three brothers ought to marry. The reason for this limitation to one marriage was that from their early days the brothers were determined to work in common for the rehabilitation of the family position, and the recovery of the lands lost through the extravagance or misfortunes of their grandfather. When the colonel came home to settle down for good in

1772, the captain saw at once that there was no hope of his ever marrying. He therefore wrote to Dr. David urging him, as the next brother, to choose a wife. Philosopher David, who was fifty years old, pooh-poohed the proposal of matrimony in his own person, but advised the captain himself, who was a good deal younger, to look out for a wife. The captain, apparently after a family consultation at home, sent word to Jamaica that he was determined to marry as soon as ever he met "a lassie he liked, and whom he could get to like him in return." But although he was rather an eligible *parti*, and was acquainted with all the landed families of the Highlands of Perthshire, and most of Argyleshire, time passed on without seeing him married. Still he had the idea in his mind to the end of his life. Here is one of his later letters "To Doctor David Campbell, at Watermount, St. John's, near Spanish Town, Jamaica :

" ARDMADY, 28th May, 1778.

" MY DEAR BROTHER,

I wrote you last harvest by London, and soon after by the Clyde, and this spring I wrote you two letters in the same way. My letters to London were sent there under cover to Mrs. Campbell Carwhin, who wrote me both times that she forwarded them by the Jamaica Pacquet. Last night I was informed that Captain Neil Campbell was soon to go out in a Letter of Marque of 20 guns, which induces me to write by him, as I hope he will get through safe from American Privateers. I must fear, from the number of ships taken to and from your island, that but few of my letters get your length, which makes me take all opportunities to write you. I wrote you in most of my letters concerning the money you remitted home ; that the bill came safe and was duly paid ; that I had paid our nephew, Harry Balneavis, the £200 on his account, and sent to John, Ann, and Elizabeth Campbell of Stirling. John came. but brought no power from

his sisters, or any discharge. I told him I lodged the £100 in the Perth Bank, and should pay it to them when they brought me a proper discharge. But considering his character (which is none of the best), and that you wrote me you were to draw upon me in their favour, when I would have time to negotiate the bill, I was advised to let the money lie on their account in bank till we heard again from you, and there it still remains. If you do not draw on me, in their favour, it will be necessary you let me or them know from whom the money comes through your hands to them, that by this they may be enabled to give a proper discharge.

"I was glad to see by your last, which I received about a twelvemonth ago, that David Balneavis was like to do better. I wish he may. I formerly wrote you, in all my letters, that I got Archy Balneavis a lieutenancy in General Fraser's Highlanders. He was unlucky enough to be taken prisoner, along with Colonel Archibald Campbell, in Boston Bay, and was a prisoner till January last, when he and others got to New York on parole. According to the last accounts from that quarter he was there ; but it was thought they would be obliged to return again to their former bondage, as General Howe did not wish them to be absent from the men, till they were exchanged ; but it was hoped a general cartell would take place and that all of them would be exchanged. I wish it may be so on all their accounts.

"All other friends are well—your brother John, Kitty and Janey at Fortingall, as usual, and Molly here with me ; no matrimonial change has yet taken place in the family. I wrote you last harvest, and in all my letters since, that Mr. Menzies of Culdares was dead, and had left but one daughter—by which the estate of Glenlyon comes to be divided betwixt his daughter and the heir of entail ; the daughter's part being the lower end of Glenlyon, *near the one half*, must be sold to pay his, Culdare's, personal debt ; and as Stewart of Cairnies, who succeeds, is the last in the entail, and a light horseman, it is believed he can and will sell what remains. My brother and I will go all the length our purse or credit can go, to get the ancient inheritance again. But it will throw us greatly in debt to purchase the daughter's part of the estate. I wish you were at home, to join stocks in the common interest ; and laying that aside, considering the drumly situation we are in with America (which if we lose we fear our West Indian Islands will follow), I most sincerely wish you out of it.

"Notwithstanding my often desiring it, you never let me know what I

can send you from Scotland that will be of use to you in Jamaica. I once more beg you'll but only mention it. I can assure you it would be a pleasure to me, or your sister, to send it. And from here we have, every month, opportunities to Greenock. If eatables in these scarce times that will carry—salmon or herrings, &c.—if linen or checks for coarse clothes for your slaves; I beg you'll inform me. I live here very comfortable in the midst of plenty, and you making hard fare of it makes my morsels sometimes go down with a worse relish.

"We have been all this year plagued, raising men for home and foreign service. God grant a speedy end to these troubles. Your sister joins me in love and affection to you, and in best compliments to David Balneavis, cousin John, and Colin Ardincaple, who, I hope, is doing well. I send enclosed a letter from his mother. When you write, please mention them all, and how they are. Mr. Archy Campbell's brothers and father are well. Believe me always, my dear David,

Your Affectionate Brother,

ARCHD. CAMPBELL."

As regards the £100 sent to the Campbells at Stirling, Dr. David in this, as in several other cases, acted as unpaid broker—or friend at need—to humble Highlanders in Jamaica who wished to send home money to their relations.

Two years after sending the preceding letter to Dr. David, the captain's Quebec wound, which had never perfectly healed, broke out again, and he died rather suddenly, but not before he had settled his affairs, at the age of 51. To Dr. David he left, above his equal share, the "Feu of Coupar," for which he claimed to be enrolled on the list of freeholders of Perthshire in 1776. Although a peculiar one, this Feu of Cupar was a real and valuable property, and not one of the sham qualifications by which Parliamentary election votes were often created, up to the passing of the first Reform Bill. He left, in all, about



£5,000 sterling, which was considered a gentlemanly fortune at that time. Had he lived a very little longer he would have received a large legacy from his employer and fast friend, John, Earl of Breadalbane, the last of the first earl's stock, who died in 1782.

The captain's funeral cost £145 16s. 9d., which was a tremendous sum for that age: but the funeral itself was so extraordinary, that for a generation or two it formed a fixed date from which the lapse of time was calculated. The gentry of Argyle and the tenants of Lorne carried the coffin, Highland fashion—that is, shoulder high—towards the Perthshire march. They were reinforced by the men of Glenorchy before reaching the border; and on Drumalban they were met by the men of Glenlyon and Breadalbane. Thence they marched, such a funeral host as had been rarely seen, to the family burying place at Fortingall, where he was laid beside his Jacobite father.

The death of the ever-joyous, ever-hopeful captain was a great blow to his brothers and sisters. Dr. David, writing from Jamaica on receipt of the sad news, lost his customary calmness, and mourned like David over Jonathan. Miss Mary, it was said, never again held up her head. But the melancholy Black Colonel, who kept his grief to himself, except when he let Mr. Macara get glimpses of his inner being, was probably the most grieved of all. He was building his hopes on his youngest brother when taking steps to avail himself of any opportunity that might offer to buy back a portion, or the whole, of his family's "ancient inheritance." He had seemingly resolved, when still quite a young man, that the cross of the "Curse of Glencoe," which was such a burden to himself should never be trans-



mitted to a son of his. But Archie Roy laughed at his fancies, and enjoyed life in spite of fate: so the colonel thought that if Archie Roy married and had children, the curse would not touch him nor his posterity. At this time he had three nephews, sons of his eldest sister and her husband, Balneaves of Edradour. Harry Balneaves, the eldest of the three, is the person mentioned in the captain's letter, to whom his uncle, Dr. David, had sent £200. Archibald, the lieutenant, who soon afterwards returned from America with the rank of captain, was the second nephew. The third was David Balneaves, an unsteady character, who was sent out to his uncle in Jamaica, and became a planter. David was rather prosperous as a planter; but he would not keep from drink, and the climate killed him before his doctor uncle left the island. These Balneaves brothers had one sister, Catherine, who married Mr. Peter Garden of Delgaty.

There was not much prospect that the Campbells of Glenlyon should be perpetuated, in the male line and main stem, after the death of the Captain Roy; but prospect or no prospect, the Black Colonel pertinaciously adhered to the purpose of buying back what he could of the "ancient inheritance," whenever the opportunity presented itself. The "light horseman" who succeeded to the Meggernie estate was not able, although perfectly willing, to sell. The entail held good when put to the test; but the Chesthill estate was so drowned in debt that it was sure, sooner or later, to come into the market. The Black Colonel lay in wait for it with his money at command. But death prevented him from effecting his purpose. He died in 1784, at the age of 69, before the Chesthill estate was sold.



## XXIX.

THE Black Colonel, before his death, entailed the estate. He also by a deed, dated 4th April, 1781, appointed his brother and heir Dr. David Campbell, his nephew Henry Balneaves of Edradour, his cousin David Smyth of Methven, John Campbell of Achalader, John Campbell, younger of Achalader, William Campbell of Duneaves, and John Campbell Writer to the Signet, son of "John Campbell of the Bank," whom the Highlanders distinguished from the father by calling him "Iain Oig a Bhainc"—his disposers in trust, for investing his money in the purchase of property, adjacent to or conveniently near his entailed estate. Old John Campbell of Achalader, for fifty years or more chamberlain of Breadalbane, died before himself; and soon after the colonel's death, William Campbell sold the estate of Duneaves, which had been in his family for four generations, to Mr. Alexander Menzies, one of the principal clerks of the court of Session, who afterwards bought the estate of Chesthill.

When Dr. David, whom the people of his native district called *an Doctair Mor*, or the Big Doctor, came home from Jamaica, he found his nephew, Captain Archibald Balneaves, acting as factor for the trustees; but he immediately took the local management of affairs into his own hands, and appointed Iain Oig a Bhainc his Edinburgh man of

business. Mr. Archibald Campbell of Easdale continued, for many years, to uplift the interest on the captain's money, laid out on heritable security, in Argyleshire. Dr. David did not care so much as his two brothers had cared about recovering the "ancient inheritance," either in whole or in part. Instead of losing his Gaelic during his thirty years' residence in Jamaica, he came back a far better Gaelic scholar than he was when he left. All Gaelic books published in the interval had been sent out to him, as well as all the new medical works of the same period, and he had keenly studied both. But he did not believe, like his brothers, in Macpherson's Ossian, although he believed in Ossian. I am not sure whether or not the judicial sale of the Chesthill estate had taken place before his arrival: but it appears that in 1785, soon after his return, Mr. Alexander Menzies would have resold it to him, had he wished to purchase. In matters which had been fixed by the colonel's trust he allowed the dead hand to rule; but as far as he was left free he did not bother himself about purchasing land. He was almost as temperate—and it was a hard drinking age—as his brother the colonel, but he made up for that by being a great smoker, and a social, hospitable, old gentleman. True enough, he was rather a puzzle to the neighbouring lairds, for he was a keen student of natural history and physical science—then in its infancy—and had resources of enjoyment within himself to which most of them were strangers. He became the unpaid doctor of the poor—and in cases of an exceptional difficulty, of the rich—over a large district. He was much interested in farming improvements and stock-breeding; but his farm manager and shepherd maintained that on these subjects he had

more theories than true knowledge. He was not ambitious of playing a prominent part in parish or county business. On the contrary, he declined, with thanks, the offer of the Duke of Athole to appoint him a Deputy-Lieutenant, until, in 1794, affairs grew so serious at home and abroad, that as a good patriot he could no longer refuse. "John of the Star," the old Earl of Breadalbane, was dead, before he came back from Jamaica; and his own near relation, John of Carwhin, grandson of his aunt, Janet of Glenlyon, reigned at Taymouth. It was well for the young man that he had close at hand, such a wise adviser and hearty friend as the Big Doctor. It was well also for the Breadalbane tenantry, and they knew it too. Under the Big Doctor's tuition and moulding influence, John, the 4th Earl and first Marquis of Breadalbane, became the kindest and best beloved landlord his wide domains ever knew. His only error—and it was a well meaning and kindly one—was that he divided many farms—which were not large enough to bear sub-division without leading to overpopulation and pauperism—in order to give rooms to men who served in his Fencible Regiments.

The Big Doctor advocated emigration against the spirit of the time among men of his class; but he wanted also to keep the glens, dales, and straths at home as fully peopled as they could bear. He foresaw and rather dreaded the growth of towns. He was ready to argue on all questions, except party politics for which he had no liking. He came back from Jamaica in excellent health and spirits, and for many years enjoyed the Highland winters instead of suffering from them. It was one of his peculiarities that out of doors he always wore a cloak reaching nearly to his

heels—a light one in summer, and a heavy “clo” or felted one in winter. Between *gratis* doctoring, reading books, botanising, carrying on a big correspondence with the Chief Justice of Jamaica—Mr. Grant of Kilgraston—as well as with other friends in that island, superintending his farm and estate, and discussing with the philosophers and politicians he met at Taymouth, time did not hang heavy on his hands. He was a most popular and beloved landlord ; but all his tenants knew that while he let them have their holdings on easy terms, they must all punctually pay their rents in money, butter, straw, flax, eggs, and poultry, as agreed upon ; or else be well reprimanded. It was considered a heinous crime to give the Big Doctor a real cause of offence, or to fail in duty towards him ; although, as far as a bit of chaffing scolding from him was concerned, they rather courted than evaded that.

Dr. David had not made much money in Jamaica ; for all he brought back with him of his own saving scarcely exceeded £2,000. Miss Kitty used to tease him about his want of success ; but he encouraged his sisters to tease him as much as they liked. Soon after his return—his shepherd lad when an old man told me the story—a young M’Gregor who was about to emigrate to the West Indies, called on him to bid farewell, and receive some letters of introduction. This emigrating young man was the son of Gregor the Handsome—*Griogair Boidheach*—a once celebrated soldier of the Black Watch. He was, therefore, either the uncle or father—I think the father—of Sir Gregor who married Bolivar’s sister and, in George the Fourth’s reign, figured in London as Prince of Poyais. “What makes you,” asked Miss Kitty, of M’Gregor, “wish to leave your native land?”

"I wish," he replied, "to go to make my fortune." "And do you think," said she, "that any one who goes to the West Indies can make a fortune if he tries his best?" "Yes, indeed," replied the confident fortune-seeker. The conversation was in Gaelic, and at this part of it Miss Kitty laughingly pointed to her brother and said: "Mo thruaighe 'n duine bochd so, mata. Bha e deich bliadhna fichead an Jamaica, s' cha d'rinn e moran beartais."—"Pity this poor man here, then; for he was thirty years in Jamaica and made little profit of it." The unruffled Laird laughed back and said: "Mar d'rinn mi beartas an Jamaica, fhuair mi taigh lan dar thainig mi dhachaigh. Agus is e comhnadh dhaoin eile, agus gu'm bu docha leam ceartas is onoir na beartas agus or, a chum cho bochd mi."—"If I made no wealth in Jamaica, I found a full house on coming home. And it was helping others, and that I preferred justice and honour to wealth and gold which kept me so poor."

The Black Colonel, by lending the minister of Fortingall £110 for his son's education, opened for Sir David Macara the door of his noble career. He aided others as well as his clachan favourite by money and influence. Dr. David followed the same plan of aiding those who had talent, once they got a start, for aiding themselves, and reflecting credit on their friends. Young men in search of their fortunes from his father's estate and native parish began to follow him to Jamaica soon after he established himself there. He became, in course of time, a sort of Gaelic chief surrounded by a following of his own in that island. He gave his help and advice to many more who emigrated to the West Indies after his return; and in truth, a connection of rather a close kind between Jamaica and Fortingall con-



tinued fifty years after his death, and has scarcely terminated yet. Although not at all so much influenced by Highland sentiments as the colonel and captain were in their day, a good deal of clannishness stuck to the Big Doctor to the end. He looked upon the then landless William Campbell of Duneaves, and not upon his own sisters' son, as, after himself, the true representative of the Campbells of Glenlyon; and it was supposed that, had not the colonel's entail interfered, he would have preferred to leave the property to this Campbell male heir, so as to keep up the old name. Be that as it may, he helped with might and main the brothers Archibald and Duncan, sons of Captain Campbell, at one time factor for the commissioners for the forfeited estates on the Struan property in Rannoch, to get proper education and afterwards commissions in the army. The father of these lads was the son of Duncan Campbell, tenant of Milton Eonan, who was a younger son of John Campbell of Duneaves. Archibald, the elder of the two, became a general in the army, the conqueror of Ava, and a baronet of the united kingdom. He bought the Garth estate from General Stewart's heirs, but he subsequently resold it. Duncan, who was paymaster of his regiment, retired with the rank of captain, and died unmarried at Perth.

The trial of Meria and others at Edinburgh in 1793, for spreading the works of Tom Paine, and organising sedition, and the vapourings of the Convention of the Friends of the People, which was held in the Scottish capital that year, as well as the atrocities which were being perpetrated in France, and the ill success with which the allies carried on the war, produced so much alarm and anger, too, throughout these

islands, that peaceful men like the Laird of Glenlyon left their avocations and seclusions to serve their country in one way or another. The Laird, in 1794, accepted the office of Deputy-Lieutenant, which he formerly declined. Here is one of his letters to the Duke of Athole reporting defensive progress :—

“ MY LORD,

Your Lordship will please receive, herewith, lists of the subscribers in the several districts of the parish of Kenmore, and detached parts of the parishes of Dull and Weem, being within the division allotted for me as one of your Grace's Deputy-Lieutenants ; amounting to 126 well-affected men. From these I have selected, as per separate list, 30 men, who, in my opinion, are proper men to be appointed as extraordinary peace-officers, and to have batons. Your Grace will, perhaps, think these too many. In that event the number may be reduced to 17 only. But considering the local situation of the districts, their extent and distances from each other, I think there can be no less than two extraordinary peace-officers in every district, except Roro. The districts in which three are stated are as large and populous as two of the others, and there are in each sufficient men to attend as assistants or ordinary constables, if it shall happen that they shall be called to attend on any occasion ; which, indeed, the establishment of such a system is calculated to render more improbable. From my own knowledge of the inhabitants, I have no doubt of their loyalty to the king and constitution. There are few families, over all the country, who have not either sons or grandsons in Lord Breadalbane's Fencibles and other corps ; and on that account, and otherwise, they are all well-affected to King and Government, and avowed enemies to the French. I have kept a list of the subscribers, and when your Grace will say and fix as to the number of extraordinary peace-officers, I shall name and appoint their assistants, and authorise the peace-officers to call them out, if necessary. But I am not, in the least, apprehensive of any trouble, as we have no seditious or disaffected people amongst us.

“ There are held at the village of Killin six public fairs yearly, and as many in the village of Kenmore. These fairs are guarded, at Lord

Breadalbane's expense, by twenty-four well-affected men, and an officer in each place, who, with halberts, patrol twice every fair day to keep peace and good order, &c. These we can call to our assistance if any riots or tumults should occur ; but I am not apprehensive of any such happening.

"Your Grace's further commands shall be duly attended to. And I am, with great respect and esteem,

"My Lord,

"Your Grace's Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant,

"DAVID CAMPBELL.

"GLENLYON HOUSE, 9th Oct., 1794."

Although the Highlanders of Perthshire were avowed enemies to the French, and loyal to the king and constitution, they intensely disliked military conscription, while ready enough to volunteer into army, militia, and fencibles to any extent. I am not very sure as to the year in which the Session Books Riot occurred at Fortingall ; but I think it must have been in 1793, when the supplementary militia was first raised. If that was the date, the Doctair Mor had a special cause for emphatically testifying to the loyalty of the people of his district, and to vouch for it that there was no cause for fearing further riots. The Session Books Riot was almost exclusively a foolish ebullition of enraged alarm on the part of ignorant mothers who feared all their sons would be taken from them, and thought they could save them by destroying the books in which their ages were recorded. Peter Macnaughton, better known as *Para Muileir*, was almost the only Glenlyon man who joined in the affair. He brought with him down to Fortingall a score of angry women. A dozen of old men came from Rannoch at the head of a large company of women ; and a

detachment of Bolfracks rioters, mostly women also, joined the other two bodies. The object was simply to go to Thomas Butter, the schoolmaster and session clerk, and take the books from him. The Fortingall people themselves had no hand in the affair. Mr. William Stewart, younger, of Garth, having received an hour's warning of what was coming, hastened to Fortingall, got the books from Butter and went off with them to Glenlyon House. The rioters were close on his heels. Butter told them he had given up the books to the magistrates, and that they were then at Glenlyon House. "And what right have the magistrates to the kirk books, and what right had you to give them up?" shouted the rioters. Then others cried out—"He must come with us and demand them back." That proposal was received with acclaim. Butter, who was lame, said he could not go unless he got a horse. Unfortunately for him, the rioters finding a cabar which suited their purpose, made him ride the stang, saying jeeringly, "What a good horse—what a prancing steed? Take care he does not throw you over Alt-Odhair Bridge." The poor man was nearly frightened to death, and keeping him still on his cabar, they made him, when they reached Glenlyon House, ask re-delivery of his books, and he did ask it for mercy's sake before they would kill him. The rioters would not listen to reason, and Mr. William of Garth, holding up the books in his hands, before them all, dared them to take them. A virago from Rannoch immediately threw a plaid over his head, and the books disappeared—the one to be found damaged by weather in a bush in the glebe some months afterwards, and the other never to be recovered. Of course the many women and few men who

took part in this riot were thoroughly ashamed of themselves, as soon as they understood that militia lists could be made up without the parish registers.

Up to the end of 1800, the old Laird, thanks to his vigorous constitution and healthy habits, wonderfully resisted the ravages of time, and actively attended to his public and private duties. The hard winter of 1804 told upon him severely. It killed his sister, Miss Kitty, Miss Mary being dead long before. Miss Kitty, as long as she lived, never allowed her brother to mope from want of mental exercise and the use of his tongue. After her death his life and house were not so cheerful as they used to be. He gave up his active life by degrees, feeling stiff and weakened in body, but strong and clear in mind almost to the last.

He died in 1806, at the advanced age of 85.

As the old Laird outlived his Balneaves nephews, who left no legitimate issue, his grandnephew, Francis Garden, son of Peter Garden of Delgaty—afterwards of Troup—and of his niece, Catherine Balneaves, became his heir. Francis Garden, who, on succeeding his granduncle, assumed the additional surname and arms of Campbell, was succeeded by his son Francis, who died in 1826. This second Francis was succeeded by a son of the same name, who died in 1848. He was succeeded by his only son the fourth Francis Garden Campbell of Troup and Glenlyon, who sold his Glenlyon property to Sir Donald Currie in 1885.



### XXX.

ON the 26th May, 1885, the tenantry of Glenlyon estate met together at the old mansion house to present an address of welcome to the new Laird on his entering into possession of the property. Shortly before two o'clock the tenants assembled in large numbers from the Glenlyon estate, from Garth, and from Breadalbane, and a most hearty welcome was accorded to Sir Donald Currie and Lady Currie when they entered the grounds.

Mr. Donald M'Dougall, Drumchary, in the name of the tenantry, presented the following address, remarking in the course of his speech that the two estates of Garth and Glenlyon being now united the Laird could say—'*S leam fhein an gleann, 's leam fhein na th'ann*—the glen's my own and all that's in it :—

TO SIR DONALD CURRIE, K.C.M.G., M.P., OF GARTH  
AND GLENLYON.

We, the tenants of your newly acquired estate of Glenlyon, beg to offer you our most hearty welcome on the occasion of your first visit to us as our landlord, and to congratulate you on the possession of so beautiful, compact, and historical a property as the combined estates of Garth and Glenlyon. Our knowledge of, and acquaintance with you hitherto, as our neighbouring proprietor, and the great interest you have always taken in everything which tends to the good of the whole community of the district, give us such confidence in you that we are both proud and happy in having you as our landlord. We feel that you will be a worthy successor to our late esteemed laird, and



that you will always have the greatest pleasure in seeing us prosperous and contented under you. We shall endeavour to do our duty towards you as our landlord, conscientiously and heartily, and will, as far as lies in our power, try to increase your enjoyment in your estate and people. We wish you, sir, and your family, long life and happiness to enjoy your fine Highland estate.

26th May, 1885.

After the presentation, speeches were also made by Mr Archibald M'Gregor, tenant of the Glenlyon Home Farm, and by Mr. Peter Haggart of Keltnie Burn as representing the Garth tenants.

Sir Donald Currie, in acknowledging the address, said :—My good friends, I thank you cordially for your hearty welcome, and for your good wishes in connection with my possession of the estate of Glenlyon. It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge your warm expression of confidence, and your assurance that you will do what may lie in your power to add to my happiness amongst you. Let me assure you that one inducement to join Glenlyon with Garth was the desire of myself and my family to help forward your prosperity. There is certainly the satisfaction of creating a more compact property by the union of the two estates; but at this moment, from a financial point of view, there is not much encouragement to invest money in land. We stand here upon historic ground. In olden times this part of the Highlands was the scene of many fierce and sanguinary struggles, the people suffering terribly. Times are, however, changed. We are no longer exposed to the risks of former days, or forced to depend upon feudal ties. Happily, we are free from clan strife and the violence of authority. As I have often said publicly, the tenant farmers

of the country are entitled to have a business-like connection with their proprietors. On the other hand, the landlords may fairly claim to have their rights considered from a business point of view. You have alluded to my course of action since Garth came into my hands, and I am grateful to you for the expression of your confidence that I will act justly to my new tenantry. Unfortunately, the relations between landlord and tenant in Scotland, as in England and Ireland, have been such as to call for the intervention of Parliament. I have no intention to introduce politics, but in view of your position as tenant farmers, and as you have referred to past legislation, I may remark that we have yet to dispose of some questions connected with land tenure in consequence of the changed condition of agricultural affairs. It is quite true, as has been said, that the alteration of the Law of Entail has enabled the late proprietor to dispose of Glenlyon as he desired to do. For my part, I am now experiencing the effects of the Agricultural Holdings Act, by the necessary and proper settlement of the compensation for unexhausted improvements claimed by the outgoing tenant of the Home Farm. The abolition of Hypothec takes away from me and from other landlords—and I am glad of it—any chance of dealing in that direction harshly as a proprietor; and in a district where it is easy to raise a crop of hares and rabbits, I daresay there is no small satisfaction among you that you now enjoy the advantages of the Ground Game Act for which I voted in Parliament. You may remember that on the day of the address being presented to me by the tenants of Garth, at the time I purchased that property, the tenants were

told that they were free to enjoy the privileges of the Act then passed into law, during the currency of their existing leases ; and on that occasion I was glad to be able to accord the same privileges to the farmers at Cluny, in Strathtay, where I had a lease as shooting tenant for 8 or 10 years to come. Your future material and moral prosperity will not depend upon legislation so much as upon yourselves ; but I may indicate to you how agricultural interests may yet be dealt with in such a way as to secure your interests and my own as tenants and proprietor. We may hope ere long to obtain a simplification of the system of transfer of property ; the total abolition of the remnant of hypothec ; some modification of the scope of the Ground Game Act ; and amendments in the Agricultural Holdings Act, now that we know the points on which that Act is not sufficiently explicit or comprehensive. Hitherto it has been the boast of Scottish farmers that they do not require, as in Ireland, an appeal to a Land Court for the fixing of rent or adjustment of difficulties between them and their landlords. In my humble judgment the Scottish tenant farmer is endowed with good sense, and is clever enough to be able to make a bargain for himself. In this district I hardly believe you would care to have a Land Court, with all the expenses incidental thereto, for the simple reason that from time immemorial you have been accustomed to depend upon neighbours of judgment and discretion to act as arbiters when differences arose. If, however, it should appear to be the general wish of tenant farmers to have a Land Court, or valuers appointed by the Sheriff in order to give legal sanction to such references to arbitration, there is

no reason why this Court of Appeal, open to landlords and tenants alike, should not be established. There is one point which, without any reference to party politics, I may allude to ; it is to legislation directed specially in favour of crofters in Scotland, and I should like to hear from any of you who are interested in this matter, and indeed from others in the county of Perth, whether it is considered necessary or desirable to include our county within the operations of the proposed Act. It has been said in the newspapers that, with all the need there is for improvements in the estate of Glenlyon, it is to be hoped that the proprietor will not improve the people off the face of the earth. I am quite sure of one thing—there is much need of improvement all over the estate ; but as there is no Bill passed to give the landlord compensation for his improvements, exhausted or unexhausted—for the only place in which his bills for improvements can be passed is through the Bank—the best return he can look for will be the conviction in your minds, and in his own, that he has not been neglectful of the responsibilities attaching to his position. The people of Glenlyon are placed in the midst of lovely and impressive scenery, unrivalled throughout Scotland. Let me express the hope that the district may be equally renowned for its social and moral excellence.

The Rev. David Campbell, minister of the parish of Fortingall, said that, hearing of the movement among the tenantry on the Glenlyon House estate, he had the desire to come and tender Sir Donald his good wishes with the others. He had also been requested, on behalf of the people on the estate, to tender their good wishes on this occasion to Lady Currie and the others of the family, and wish for

them long life and happiness in connection with this addition to the family property. And he did this very readily because he knew that these good wishes were well bestowed. He knew that Lady Currie would take that interest in the people on the Glenlyon estate which the lady of the manor naturally takes in those about her, and which she had taken since she had come to Garth. She had taken an interest in the young, and in those whose circumstances claimed the good offices of neighbour and friend. Standing as they did there before that old house of Tullichmullin, Sir Donald would permit to some of them a sentiment of sadness that the place was no longer to be connected with the old name with which it was associated so long. But changes would take place, and since there was to be a change there it was desirable in all respects that the estates of Garth and Glenlyon House should become one possession. They were so mixed up and mingled together that there was great inconvenience experienced. Sir Donald would be welcomed because he had shown that he took an interest in the people and was desirous for their comfort and happiness. No doubt among some of the humbler homesteads upon such an estate as this, one of the chief features of whose history had been an absence of disturbance or change, there might be natural apprehension lest new lairds should make new laws, and that more or less disturbance might be the result. But he felt assured that in whatever Sir Donald did in that respect he would have in view the people's good. While he had no sympathy with the cry which was raised in some places of "Down with landlordism," at the same time they would probably agree with him that the prolonged or permanent absence

of landlords from their estates was to be deprecated. There was scarcely anything that would fully make up for the proprietor's absence. Factors were in many instances admirable men, and filled their often difficult posts well. Shooting tenants were also all very well—at least some of them were—but what was most to be desired was that the proprietor should pass a considerable portion of his time at home among his people ; and for a considerable portion of the year at least they were glad to think that Sir Donald and Lady Currie and their family would be resident on the Barony of Garth and Glenlyon.

Sir Donald proposed the health of Colonel Campbell, the late proprietor of Glenlyon, which was received with acclamation. After dark, bonfires were lit on the eminences above Glenlyon and Drumchary, and as the night was clear they were seen from a long distance.







XXXI.

AT the time of the purchase of the estate by Sir Donald Currie, the boundaries of Glenlyon and Garth intersected in an irregular and inconvenient manner, and as regards certain outlying portions of the moorland some uncertainty prevailed with respect to the rights of the laird of Glenlyon and the claims of neighbouring proprietors. The estate of Glenlyon was by no means a compact one, a considerable portion being entirely separated from the rest by the lands of Garth. Indeed the large extent of 2801 acres of the hill ground was held in common between Glenlyon and Garth; and 511 acres known as Rynacra, and situated to the north-east of the Garth property, at a considerable distance from the Glenlyon moor, were held in common between the proprietor of Glenlyon and the Marquis of Breadalbane. It was in the north-western corner of Glenlyon estate that the question of boundaries was a source of confusion and dispute. In one case, common ownership of 351 acres was claimed both by Glenlyon and Lassintullich; and in another there were conflict-

ing claims by Dunalastair and Glenlyon with regard to the ownership of about 238 acres on the slopes of Craig-an-Earra.

Naturally it is the desire of proprietors to have the boundaries of their estates defined, and joint rights of ownership eliminated. The complication in the case of Lassintullich was settled by the purchase by Sir Donald Currie of the rights claimed by Mr. Greig the proprietor of that estate. The controversy between Dunalastair and Glenlyon estates as to the respective rights of Dunalastair and Glenlyon upon Craig-an-Earra was also brought to a settlement. The new proprietor of Dunalastair, Mr. H. T. Tennent, claimed that he had a joint proprietary right with the owner of Glenlyon in the Craig-an-Earra ground, his predecessors having from time to time shot over the ground, while, on the other hand, it was maintained on behalf of Sir Donald, that the estate of Dunalastair was entitled to a servitude of grazing only, in virtue of a Decree Arbitral, dated 1723.

In order to have an authoritative decision of the matter in dispute, it was mutually agreed between Mr. Tennent and Sir Donald Currie that the question should be referred to the arbitration of the then Lord Advocate, the Right Hon. J. B. Balfour, M.P., who in due time gave the following Award:

Edinburgh, 6th August, 1886.

Having considered the statements for the parties, productions and whole process, I find that Sir Donald Currie, as proprietor of the Estate of Glenlyon, has the sole and exclusive right of property in and

to the piece of ground in question, extending to about 238 or 241 acres, being the southmost portion of the ground known as Craig-an-Earra, and that Mr. Tennent, as proprietor of Easter Tempar, forming part of the domain of Dunalastair, has no right of property in the said ground, but only a right of pasturage over the same, and that consequently Sir Donald Currie has the sole and exclusive right of shooting over the said piece of ground and decerns.

(Signed) J. B. BALFOUR.

The right of pasturage which belonged to Mr. Tennent was afterwards transferred by him to Sir Donald Currie by friendly arrangement.

The eastern slope of Craig-an-Earra, extending to 96 acres, and known as the Shiellings of Comrie, was the property of the Marquis of Breadalbane, but by agreement with Sir Donald Currie, this ground was purchased for the Glenlyon estate and added to it.

With a view to the compactness of the two estates of Garth and Glenlyon respectively, Sir Donald Currie divided the two properties by distinct boundaries, transferring to Garth the Glenlyon commonty rights on the moorland, formerly held between the two estates, and placing Rynacra commonty ground within the Garth property. The lands of Easter Drumchary and Nether Blairish which formed detached portions of Glenlyon, fitted in more naturally as parts of Garth, and were consequently taken from the one estate and added to the other. The land acquired from Lassintullich and Breadalbane by purchase, as well as that of Craig-an-Earra referred to in the

award of the Lord Advocate were added to the estate of Glenlyon.

Sir Donald Currie has further redeemed the feu duties and casualties of superiority exigible from both estates.





## A P P E N D I X.

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### GLENLYON BROOCH (FRONTISPIECE AND PAGE 289).

THE Glenlyon Brooch, represented in the frontispiece, and referred to at page 289, is described by Thomas Pennant in his "Tour in Scotland," anno 1771. He states that Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon, showed him "a very antient brotche, which the Highlanders use like the fibula of the Romans to fasten their vest; it is made of silver, is round, with a bar cross the middle, from whence are two tongues to fasten the folds of the garments; one side is studded with pearl or coarse gems in a very rude manner; on the other the names of the three kings of Cologne, Gaspar, Melchior, Balthazar, with the word *Consummatum*. It was probably a consecrated brotche, and worn, not only for use, but as an amulet. Keysler's account of the virtues attributed to their names confirms my opinion. He says that they were written on slips of paper in this form, worn as preservatives against the falling sickness:—

*"Gaspar fert Myrrham, Thus Melchior, Balthazar Aurum,  
Solvitur a morbo Christi pietate caduco."*

That is to say:—

*"Gaspar brings myrrh, Melchior incense, Balthazar gold,  
By the mercy of Christ one is set free from the falling sickness."*

With reference to the walking-staff also represented on the frontispiece, Mr. Pennant makes the following observations :—"Saw at the house of Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon, a curious walking-staff, belonging to one of his ancestors ; it was iron cased in leather, five feet long ; at the top a neat pair of extended wings like a *caduceus* ; but, on being shaken, a poniard, two feet nine inches long, darted out."

### ROUND TOWERS (PAGE 3).

Glenlyon tradition strongly points to these round forts, having been all lofty and roofed edifices, but the diameter of the Cashlie forts is too great for any beam to cover it. Others are so small that they could have been topped easily enough by a beehive roof.

### ST. EONAN (PAGE 5).

St. Eonan is St. Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba, and Abbot of Iona. St. Adamnan was expelled by his monks because he yielded to Rome on the tonsure and Easter questions. It is not so sure that he ever got restored to his place in Iona, or that it was there he was first buried. After a time, indeed, his bones are found now in Iona and then in Ireland. But his first place of burial might have been Dull. There is no doubt that an abbey and church were established there in St. Adamnan's honour. Adamnan means "little Adam"—in Gaelic Adhamhnan, which sound pretty much the same as Eonan. No sooner had I told the legend in the form in which it was usually recited, than Iain Mor Mac Rob gave another version of it to me in rather old Gaelic which I translated as follows:—"Calum of Kells brought a company of Gillean De, servants of God, or Culdees—from Erinn to preach the Peace-message to the Gael of the West. In Ii, the little isle at the nose of Mull, the holy men took up their abode. There they built a church and a common habitation, and there they opened schools, and Calum of Kells was their chief or Abba. When these Gillean De had converted most of the chiefs, and great numbers of the people of the Gael of the West, Calum of Kells called the Gillean De together, and said, "Who of you will cross Drumalban and preach to the men of Alban the Peace-message of our Lord?" And twelve of the Gillean De rose forthwith, offering to go ; and Calum of Kells blessed them ; and they set out and



marched together, even until they reached the cairn of Drumalban, and there they separated, each following a different stream and pass into the country of Alban. Eonan was one of the twelve, and from the cairn of Drumalban he followed the pass which led him to Glenlyon; but it was not then called Glenlyon at all. Its name was "Gleann dubh crom nan garbh chlach"—black crooked glen of large stones. Eonan built a church, and preached the Peace-message; and at first the men of the Glen would listen to him not, but preferred the ways of their fathers. Eonan then built a mill turned by water, and there had been no such mill in the Glen ever before; and all the grain had till then be ground by "clachan brathan" (querns); and the people of the Glen began to think much of him, and to listen to him, and to be baptized. He lived among them until they were all made Christians, and they honoured him greatly; and when he was dying, they asked, "Where he wished to be buried?" He replied to them that as soon as he had given up his soul they should place his body on a bier, and run "lunnan"—bearing sticks—through rings of withs—"dullan"—attached to the bier, and then taking him up they should carry him down the water, until a ring of withs—"dul"—broke. And when the first "dul" of the bier broke, then he wished them to bury him. So when Eonan gave up his soul the men of the Glen did as he told them. And soon after they passed the running together of the rivers Lyon and Tay, the first ring broke, and there they buried him, and named the spot "Dul." The name of Eonan was great among the people of Alban, and the Gillean De of the land of Alban, who were many of them his disciples, built a church over his grave, and a common house and schools in its near vicinity. After that the high king of Alban gave to the Gillean De of Dul, and the father or abba they had set over themselves, a city of refuge girth, which was marked out by large stones, and also a large lordship, which, until this day, is called Appin-Dhul (Abthania de Dul?) or the Abba-Land of Dul. Great waxed the fame of the schools kept by the Gillean De of Dul. To them flocked the sons of kings, princes, and heroes in the land of Alban; and Dul and St. Eonan were to the people of Alban what Calum of Kells and the little Ii at the nose of Mull were to the Gael of the West. Afterwards troubles arose and changes came. The common home and the schools were removed from Dul to Dunchaillion (Dunkeld), and afterwards to Kilribhein (St. Andrews), where the schools are yet, although the Gillean De went out of sight long long ago.

Old John had also a semi-poetic account of the stopping of the plague, which I did not translate, as it was in substance just the same as that which I had already given. I should think the Glenlyon people must have been accustomed in Catholic times, to services on St. Eonan's day, of which the above legend used to be part. St. Adamnan died in 703.

#### CRAIG-DIANAIÐH (PAGE 6).

The etymological spelling given by Mr John Cameron, who forty years ago was schoolmaster at Innervar, is adopted here. It yields a natural enough meaning, but the country people always call this rock Craig-fhiannaidh, that is the "Rock of the Feinne," which conforms quite as well to the undoubted fact that it was a place on which judicial and other solemn meetings were held in very ancient times, and continued to be held until about 1480, or some years later when Stewart of Garth and the Clan Iver quarrelled and fought as related by General Stewart. On the top of this rock where the judge sat, there is what is called the footmark of Peallaidh, or St. Palladius, who was sent from Rome to convert the Irish in 432, but who, not being well received in the neighbouring isle, came to the land of the Picts where he died. Aberfeldy, Obair, or Aber-Pheallaidh receives its name from this early saint, who towards the east coast turns into Paldy, and even into Paddy. St. Eonan's cross, which marked the spot where he stopped, or was supposed to have stoped the plague, is a little to the west of the rock by the roadside. Some fanatic broke off the arms and top of it, probably at the time of the covenant; but on the broken shaft a rude figure of a cross was incised by some one who cherished old traditions. Inverinnian, some miles to the east of Cray-fhiannaidh, and on the other side of the river, is apparently named after St. Ninian, but the water-fall there is called after Peallaidh or Palladius, and so is a stone seat to which formerly miraculous qualities were attributed. At Innervar was a chapel dedicated to a doubtful saint. The little burial place which marks the spot has now received the name of Claodh-Ghunna, which is perhaps the degraded form into which "Claodh-Ghuinoch" has degenerated. Below the churchyard is a sacred well or "tiobart." There was an "annait" or relic chapel at Balnahannait,

and another at the very head of the Glen near the ridge of Drumalban, but to what saints these were dedicated deponent cannot say.

#### THE CHAPEL BUILT BY ST. EONAN (PAGE 8).

WE may accept the tradition without hesitation that it was St. Eonan, or Adamnan, who, in his years of exile from the Monastery of Iona, built the Chapel of "Branboth" Breanvo, or, as it is now called, "Brennudh," near the Bridge of Balgie. Notwithstanding the prior claims of Saints Palladius, Ninian, and others, Adamnan made himself, without any mistake, the patron Saint of Glenlyon. The traditions about him remained so vividly clear and strong, notwithstanding many ways of rehearsing them in detail, that he must have had a living personal connection with the place, and done things attributed to him, such as the building of the chapel on the rising ground called still "Druim-na-h-eaglais," just where the farm-house of Kerrumore now stands, and putting a mill on the stream of the neighbouring side-glen at Milton Eonan. It is supposed that he dedicated his chapel to St. Brandan, of voyaging and travelling fame, but this is a little doubtful. In the third volume of *Celtic Scotland*, page 271, Dr. Skene, quoting from the chartulary of the Priory of St. Andrews, says:—"In the time of Alexander the Third, Dul and Foterkel" (Dull and Fortingall, including Foss and Glenlyon), "remained still Crown lands, but the Church of Dul, with its Chapels of Foss and Branboth, in Glenlyon, belonged to Malcolm, Earl of Athole, who, after the death of William, his cleric, granted them to the Priory of St. Andrews." The Chapel of Branboth was removed from Druim-na-h-eaglais to the present churchyard by Black John after 1368, because, owing to the bog between the old and new sites, his wife, Janet, the cousin of King David Bruce, complained that she could not in all weathers go to her devotions without wetting her feet. St. Eonan built his Chapel near the only stone circle in Glenlyon. The stones of this circle have been removed within my memory. The place is called "Clachaig."

## THE FIRST LAIRD OF GLENLYON (PAGE 9).

The very first Laird of Glenlyon was William Olifant, who received a grant of the £40 lands thereof from King Robert Bruce. Till then, Glenlyon had always been Crown land. At page 558 of Vol. II. Exchequer Rolls, John of Inchmartin, Sheriff of Perth, debits himself for forty shillings received for the forty pound lands, *quas dominus Willelmus Olifant, tenet in Glenlyoun*, which Sir William Olifant holds in Glenlyon.

## BLACK JOHN.

The Register of the Great Seal records, in 1368, the giving of Glenlyon, by King David Bruce, to John of Lorne, and his wife, Janet, who is described as being the King's cousin. The grant is confirmed in 1372, apparently on Janet's death. It is here the story of the "dalta" ought to come in; unless, indeed, the connection of Campbell's stepson was with John of Lorne's successor. John of Lorne, to whom David Bruce granted Glenlyon, was a Macdougall, but his daughter and heiress carried most of his property to her husband, John Stewart, Lord of Lorne, who, perhaps, was, after all, the Black John of Glenlyon tradition, and the father of seven sons. The first Campbell Laird of Glenorchy, *Cailean Dubh na Roinhe*, "Black Colin of Rome," married the eldest of the three daughters of the last Stewart Lord of Lorne, and his son, Sir Duncan, inherited through his mother a *duchas* or hereditary right to Glenlyon. James the Third, however, granted, in 1477, Glenlyon and Glenquaich on lease to Stewart of Garth. The lease of nineteen years terminated in 1495, and on the 7th September, 1502, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy received a Crown charter of the disputed barony for himself in liferent, and in fee for his younger son, Archibald, called

## "GILLEASBAIG GLAS."

This "Pale Archibald" was only a boy when his father, "The Good Knight," fell at Flodden. Archibald married the heiress of Kilmoriche, and some bard composed a ballad of no great merit, some verses of which came down orally from 1520 to my own time. It opened thus:—

Ghilleasbaig mhic Dhonnachaidh,  
 Thilg thu 'n urchair ud ceart,  
 Killamhairche 's Gleannliomhunn,  
 Dh' aon sgrìob ann ad chairt.

### THE CLAN GREGOR

WHILE we have a good deal of literature, both prose and verse, in English and Gaelic about the long war waged by the Clan Gregor against the State, and the persecution they suffered in consequence of that war, it still remains for Mr. Skene, or some other historical antiquary, to throw light upon the origin of the war, and of the clan itself. The Macgregors claim descent from Kenneth and Alpin, but, as far as we can learn from records, their surname only dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century. No doubt the Dean of Lismore, or his curate, puts down in the Chronicle of Forthingall the death of John Gregory—that is, son of Gregor—of Glenorchy in 1390, but we suspect very strongly that this was a reflex name, and that John's son, Gregor, who died in 1414, was the chief from whom his tribe took their surname. But by what designation were they known before? The Robertsons, who were called Clan Donnachaidh from the time of Bannockburn till 1440, then called themselves after their chief, Robert, of fighting celebrity. Such changes of clan surnames were, indeed, rather common; but the curious thing about the Macgregors is that their history antecedent to the end of the fourteenth century cannot be traced at all, and that in the next century they are found to be a very large scattered tribe warring with society, and developing a great deal of heroism and poetry in their state of lawless savagery. Donnacha Beag—little Duncan—he grandfather of that John who died in 1390, and who therefore probably lived as late as 1370, was the first of the line of chiefs of whom the bard, Mac Gilliondaig, “am fear dan,” ever heard. Now Mac Gilliondaig composed his song in praise of Malcolm, the then chief of the clan, at least twenty years before the Dean of Lismore's brother Duncan wrote down the pedigree of John, the grandson of Malcolm, “from the books of the genealogists of the Kings,” as he says, and it is Duncan whom we first find putting forth the claim of descent from King Kenneth Mac Alpin, of which the older bard makes no mention whatever. Duncan's pedigree is absurd on the face of it. Backward from the then living chief, Black John (who died in 1519), he gives the links right enough to Donnacha Beag. Here they are :—“John the



son of Patrick, the son of Malcolm, the son of Black John, the son of John, the son of Gregor, the son of John, the son of Malcolm he son of Duncan the Little"—eight generations in one hundred and fifty years. And how does he link Duncan with Kenneth Mac Alpin? As follows:—"Duncan the son of Duncan from Stirling, the son of Gilfillan, the son of Hugh of Orchay (Glenorchay), the son of Kenneth, the son of Alpin, and this Kenneth was head King of Scotland in truth at that time; and this John is the eleventh man from Kenneth of whom I spoke." While the eight later descents are crowded into one hundred and fifty years, the other four between Duncan the Little and King Kenneth were generously allowed five hundred years among them. The Irish genealogies given by Mr. Skene are wonderfully correct in most instances up to the thirteenth or even twelfth century, but that of the Macgregors, which differs considerably from the above pedigree, is not of much value except as regards the grouping of clans into stocks. Let us always bear in mind that clans only began to be formed when the old Celtic system began to break down, and the Celtic Kings were followed by Kings of Fife and the Lothians.

At the end of the fifteenth century there were three leading families of the clan, namely the Macgregors of Glenstrae, who had long been connected with Glenorchy, and the Macgregors of Roro in Glenlyon and of Bealach in Breadalbane. As to the latter two, the Macgregors of Roro were tenants, or rather what the Irish would call "middlemen," who farmed from the feudal lord, Menzies of Weem, the Glenlyon "Toiseachd" granted to his ancestors by Robert or David Bruce. They were cadets of the Glenorchy family, and their settlement in Glenlyon cannot be placed earlier than the year 1368, when King David granted that Glen to John of Lorne, "and our cousin Janet his wife." The local tradition is constant that John of Lorne, or "Iain Dubh nan lann," first brought in this family as his henchmen. The history of the Bealach Macgregors is obscure. From indications in charters, we should say they were people who squatted on the lands of the monks of Scone, and gave a vast deal of trouble before they were forcibly evicted in the sixteenth century. The Glenstrae Macgregors were, when light falls upon them, feudal vassals of the Earl of Argyll, but although poor in regard to landed possessions, they were chiefs or captains of a great clan—so great that it must have taken centuries to form it. The clan poems found in the Dean of Lismore's collection



show clearly enough that the war with feudal laws, and the raids and slaughters that attended these, were in full swing during the fourteenth century, although Scottish history, while saying much about the Macdonalds and others, is perfectly silent about the Macgregors. We may, however, fully believe that they had a hand in every revolt and tumult within the Highland line from the battle of Harlaw down to the Reformation. And what could have placed them in this state of permanent rebellion to law and order? We believe they had suffered at one time a loss of patrimonial rights and status, which made them savage against authority and feudal tenures; and that loss could only have taken place in the reign of Robert Bruce, when the King's lands, watered by the Tay, began to be given out under feudal charters. It does not at all follow, because after Bannockburn the leading family is found planted in Glenorchy, that the clan had previously been there, or that it was the original cradle of their race. The Macgregor chieftains were probably "Toiseachs," or captains, or kindly tenants of the Crown on the King's lands, who, in the War of Independence struggle, forfeited their *duchas* or patrimonial rights by going against Bruce and fighting on the side of Macdougall of Lorne and the English King. This theory of dispossession would account for the future history of the clan, if it could be substantiated. It would also supply a reason for the somewhat curious anomaly of the clan being found chiefly in Perthshire at later dates, while the chieftains lived in Glenorchy. Mr. Donald Gregory assumed, indeed, that the "John of Glenorchy" living in 1286-94 was a Macgregor chief, but that John and his successors, we believe, were not Macgregors at all, but cadets of the house of Macdougall of Lorne; and if Macdougalls and Macgregors fought shoulder to shoulder during the Brucean war, it might be well expected that the "Toiseach" driven out of Perthshire should get refuge and land from the Macdougalls, where his services would be of most avail to their faction. Mac Gilliondaig, "am fear dan," is really the most reliable and oldest authority we have in regard to the traditional history handed down from generation to generation among the clan themselves. Now Mac Gilliondaig begins his song by asserting that from the beginning of their order "Toisichean" were the equals of feudal lords or barons—the lairds of subsequent times:—

"Buaidh Thighearn air toisichibh  
A ta o thus an cinne."

Mac Gilliondaig says nothing about the Royal descent which is so

prominently put forward afterwards, but he distinctly refers the origin of the race back to Gallew, or Galloway. He mentions first that they took the beginning of their inheritance or fame—the word is uncertain—from that place, and in the concluding lines of his song he calls Malcolm

“ Mac Griegair bos barr chorcuir,  
Mac Derwail buidhe o Ghallew.”

The fictions of the genealogists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—which culminated in the charter impositions of that perversely ingenious scholar, George Earl of Cromarty—were so many and so gross that we are now-a-days too much disposed to overlook the nuggets of true facts and clues to historical difficulties which can be found in the earlier and more trustworthy clan traditions. All unwritten traditions jumble things considerably together and make havoc with chronology, but yet there is generally an element of truth to be found in every popular tradition which came down from of old, and was not adopted from side sources like the mistakes of outside histories and the fallacies of antiquaries. It is quite possible, with the help of Mac Gilliondaig's references to the Gallowegian origin of the Macgregors to make out a fair historical case for their connection and probable kinship with Kenneth and Alpin, although not at all for their descent from these princes. Mr. Skene proves very clearly that Kenneth and his father were very closely associated with the Gael of Galloway and Carrick, and that it was from that region they obtained their armies. What could be more natural and more politic for Kenneth, therefore, when he obtained the throne of Scone, than to put his own soldiers and friends as kindly tenants on the Crown lands? and if he did so, we need not be surprised that afterwards, as long as that settlement lasted, they had no history of their own; for their history would be merged in that of the King's, whose Household Troops they were. These kindly tenants were, in fact something more than the King's bodyguard, for they were all that represented a standing army. It was only on great occasions that the array of the Kingdom was mustered, but without a competent force always at hand the kings could not have done, in those rough times, the work they did. But tenants so exercised in the use of arms from generation to generation would become a military caste with hereditary instincts for fight, and when driven by their own fault or mistake into revolt, they would be sure to give much trouble, and fight against fate for old customs and forfeited privileges. The supposition that the

Macgregors were old kindly military tenants of the Crown, who for four hundred and sixty years enjoyed their Celtic customs, and that having taken the wrong side in the War of Independence they forfeited their "duchas," and saw themselves displaced by feudal proprietors, accounts for their after conduct, and the hankering for reversion to a past and irrecoverable state of things which threw them, as free lances or allies on the sides of rebels like Macdonald of the Isles, Neil Stewart of Garth, the Earl of Huntly, and scores of other troublers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which later on made them strong adherents of the Stuart cause, although in the days gone by they had given the sovereigns of that House infinite trouble.

Mac Gilliondaig says of Duncan the Little that he left as an inheritance to Clan Gregor their heroism :—

Dh'fhag mar chuid dilib  
Do Chloinne Ghriogair an gaisge.

But what kind of heroism? That of spoiling. Duncan the little, he says, was "great by his spoils." English invasions, the captivity of the King, and the other chaotic troubles of David Bruce's reign must have afforded a man of Duncan's turn a fine opportunity for exercising his talents. But general history takes no notice of him nor of his successors in the next century, who also, the bards tell us, gained cattle and gold by the heroism of spoliation. This silence of history, we think, must be due to the fact that they fought as free lances under the banners of feudal chiefs. In the sixteenth century they changed their tactics and took to fighting and foraying openly on their own hand. The chief, Black John, who died in 1529, married a young wealthy widow—Helen Campbell, daughter of Colin of Glenorchy—whom he captured by force and fraud. But if he "ravished" Helen she forgave him, and probably had he lived longer he would have settled down as a steady going feudal laird. He died unfortunately, leaving an infant son, Alexander, who fell under the influence of his relative, that wildest of all the wild Macgregors, Donnacha Ladosach—Duncan Laidus of the Testament satire—and so the young chief took to a life of atrocities, which included such events as the slaying of twenty-six Balquhider Maclaurins in Passion week, the burning of the Royal hunting lodge of Trochree, and many slaughters, captures, and raids. The chief died and Duncan disappeared—by "justification" of law—between 1546 and 1551. Alexander left a young son, Gregor—"Griogair ban nan basa geala" of the most pathetic of all laments—who married a

daughter of the Laird of Glenlyon, Donnacha Ruadh na feile. Gregor was chief, *alias* "Laird Macgregor," when he and his clan were taken in hand for their "oppressions" by Queen Mary. Gregor was a hero in the opinion of more people than his devoted wife ; but the wildness of his blood prevailed, and after several opportunities for amendment had been given him, he was hunted down by the feudal array of most of Perthshire and Argyllshire, and brought to the block at Kenmore in 1570. His last misdeeds were the slaughter and oppression of people of his own clan who refused to pay him chief's calpa and follow him in his raids. This trouble was not a new one. When Duncan Ladosach acted as tutor for the former chief he "warred with his own nation," that is, with peaceful, law abiding Macgregors who refused to be led into the commission of enormities, and placed themselves under the protection of the law and their feudal proprietors.

#### DONNACHIADH RUADH NA FEILEACHD (PAGE 12).

The notice of Hospitable Red Duncan's death is almost the last entry in The Chronicle of Fortingall began by Sir James MacGregor, vicar of Fortingall and Dean of Lismore, about 1500, and continued by his curate. The old scribe who wrote Duncan's obituary notice was a Roman Catholic, but while knowing that the dead laird had "followed the sect of the heretics," he expressed a strong hope in regard to his salvation, because he was a hilarious soul and a cheerful giver.

#### CAILEAN GORACH AND THE ABRAICH (PAGE 15).

I know I had some proof once of Glenlyon having suffered there several times during Colin Gorach's time from Clanranald and Glencoe raiders. I have lost the reference. Probably the first time was when Carnban Castle was set on fire. The following entry in the *Register of the Privy Council* records the second raid, which happened a year or two before that conducted by Dougal which ended in the capture of the spoilers and their wholesale execution :—

"St. Andrews, August 20, 1583.—Complaint of Colin Campbell of Glenlyon, as follows :—Alexander McCreland, John Dow M'Creland, Alexander McAine Dow Mhic Kreneld, Neil McConeill Mhic Coneill, Alexander McAmemiss, Angus McAn Dow, Donald McInnuss, Alexander McAlexander McGorrie, John Dow McConeill McCreneld

Alexander McCain McAin Mhic Coneill, Donald McGerrie, William McConeill Mhic Gorme, Ewin McAin Mhic Coneill, John Dow McNeill Mhic Harther, Fercher Dow McConeill Mhic Alster, Donald McArther, John Dow McConeill McNeill, Rory McConeill Mhic Neill, Lachlan McTerlich Mhic Lachlin, — Nocheroy, John McInlay Roy, John Dow McInoss, with their complices, to the number of three score persons or thereby, with bow, darloch, and other weapons invasive, came upon the 24th day of June last bypast, by the break of day, and masterfully reft, spulzied, and away took from the said complainer, and Duncan Reoch, John Glass McEvin McDonald Dowy, and Donald McDonald Reoch, his servants, furth of his lands of Glenlyon and Glencalyie, four score head of ky, eleven horses and mares, together with the whole insight and plenishing of their houses; as also they not satiated with the said open oppression committed by them as said is, struck and dang the women of the said lands, and cutted the hair of their head.—Charge having been given to the persons complained of to appear and answer under pain of rebellion, and they not appearing, while the complainer appears by James Campbell of Ardkinglas, his procurator, the Lords order all the culprits to be denounced rebels.”

When Colin was asked after the slaughter if he would put his hand to, that is sign, a statement confessing his guilt, he replied at once that he would put his hand and foot to the confession in question. “An cuir sibh ar lamh ris an aideachadh so?” asked the limb of the law who was sent on the rather perilous errand. “Cuiridh, cuiridh, a laochain, an da chuid ma lamh’s mo chas,” replied Colin, without hesitation.

#### CAILEAN GORACH IN SEARCH OF A WIFE.

Colin, when he succeeded his father—hospitable Duncan, friend of bards—in 1579, had a higher character than most of the rough barons of the time. His education had not been neglected. In the wars of his time he had displayed warrior qualities which attracted the notice of the men at the head of affairs. But it would seem he “got a clour on the head” in one of the encounters connected with the Lennox-Arran period of confusion, which unbalanced his mental equilibrium without at all interfering with the occasional display of great cleverness, and the constant possession of a defensive and offensive capacity, combined with acute cunning, which made him dangerous to his foes and



sometimes to his friends. In 1585 Colin was a widower. He had just finished building his Castle of Meggernie, and thought he should marry another wife. His first wife had been a daughter of Cailean Liath of Glenorchy, and therefore a second cousin of his own. Except in the matter of his wholesale revenge on the Abraich, mentioned before, Colin's madness had been kept within bounds as long as his first wife lived. She was not very long in the grave before he tried to fill her vacant place by the outrageous wooing described in the following complaint recorded in the *Register of the Privy Council* :—

“Falkland, September 16, 1587.—Complaint of Dame Agnes Sinclair, Countess of Errol, as follows :—While in October last, she was living quietly in Inchestuthill, Colin Campbell of Glenlyon, with convocation of men, bodin in feir of weir, to the number of one hundred, came to the said place under cloud and silence of night, and after they had assieged the same a certain space, they treasonably raised fire at the gates thereof, where through she was constrained, for fear of the fury of fire, and for the preservation of her own life, to come forth ; at which time the said Colin Campbell and his complices put violent hands on the said complainer, revissed her (took her forcibly away, abducted her) and led her as captive and prisoner with them the space of twelve miles, of intention to have used her according to his filthy appetite and lust, or otherwise to have used some extremity against her ; and had not failed so to have done, were it not by the providence of God she was delivered and freed of him by the Earl of Athole and his servants. Like as at that same time they cruelly hurt and wounded Alexander Hay, her servant, with a sword upon the hand, and John Mernis, another of her servants, with an arrow upon the face. The Countess of Errol appearing by John Bisset, her servant and procurator, but Colin Campbell failing to appear, the Lords order him to be denounced rebel.”

Dame Agnes Sinclair was a daughter of the Earl of Caithness who died in 1583, and the widow of Andrew, Earl of Errol, who died in 1585. She was Earl Andrew's second wife. He was a man above fifty when he died, Dame Agnes was probably only half her old lord's age. Very soon after Mad Colin's attempt to abduct her she married Alexander Gordon, Strathdon, and removed to the neighbourhood of Aberdeen. They had indeed a long litigation about the possession of a house in Aberdeen itself, and had to give caution they would not injure their opponents by taking the law into their own hand. After be-



ing put to the horn in September, 1587, Cailean Gorach "remained contempnanlie unrelaxed." So the Countess obtained letters, charging him and the keepers of his dwelling houses (the castles of Meggernie and Carnban) to render the same to the executioner of the said letters, and also ordering him to enter within the castle of Blackness within a certain time under the pain of treason. He disobeyed of course, and then the Countess craved and obtained his Majesty's commission for pursuit of him by fire and sword. Surely the madman will now yield and make atonement meet. He is not, like law breakers in the distant Highlands and the Isles, beyond the reach of justice. He lives within fifty miles both of Stirling and of Perth. The King himself comes every year to hunt the deer in the forest of Mamlorn, which lies across the heads of Glenlochay, Glenlyon, and Glenorchy. Yes, but there's the rub. It is just because the King knows him very well that Cailean Gorach is never brought to real stern account for his misdeeds and contemptuous conduct. King James fell very early into the bad habit of interfering with the course of justice, and of assuming to himself the dispensing power which completed the national indictment against his grandson and namesake, and more than anything else caused the removal of the Stuart dynasty. We find the Lords of the Council over and over again, as in the case of Cailean Gorach, declaring the royal intervention null and void, and yet unable in most cases, when the King himself did not repent of his hasty action, to set the crooked straight. On July 21st, 1591, six years after the attempt to abduct her, the relentless Countess complains to the Council that to stay the commission of fire and sword, Colin Campbell of Glenlyon, "by the means of some shameless and indiscreet persons, preferring their own private gain and commodity to His Highness's honour, privily, without his Majesty's knowledge"—a mere lie for decency's sake—"obtained a letter under the King's subscription and signet relaxing him from the horn for any cause by-gone. In justice to the complainers, and others having action against him, and also for relieving his Highness of the daily fasherie of indiscreet and inopportune suitors of such like letters," the Countess, through her procurator, urged "the said letter ought to be declared null." Colin was charged to appear and produce the privy letter of relaxation. He failed, as usual, to obey. The Countess and her spouse appeared by James Harvie, their procurator and the Lords "decerned the said letter of relaxation to have been surreptiti-

ously obtained of his Majesty, and therefore to be null, and ordained the said letters of horning, caption, and treason against Colin Campbell of Glenlyon, and the commission following thereupon, to be put to further execution in all points."

Most of Cailean Gorach's pranks were more amusing than dangerous. On one occasion, perhaps in connection with the Countess of Errol's process, he gave a splendid funeral to two sheriff-officers who served writs upon him. Colin took the papers without demur, gave the limbs of the law a good dinner, and then, binding them on biers like dead bodies, and calling his men and pipers together, he marched at the head of the mocking procession, to the wail of the bag-pipes, for ten miles, until he finally hurled biers and occupants, without any danger to the latters' lives or limbs, in Alt-a-Ghobhlain, the burn which bounded his barony. Some thirty years ago I asked an old Glenlyon man, after he had related to me a whole string of Cailean Gorach's pranks, whether he was not in the end placed under restraint. His reply was:—"Cha deach Cailean riamh a chuir an laimh. Bha'n Rìgh na charaid's na chul-taig dha. 'Sa Mhoire! bu duine aoidheil, fialaidh, fiachail Cailean, agus ge do chaidh cartuathal na cheann am meadhon aois gu latha a bha is cha d' fhuair mac mathar a chuid a b' fhearr dhe."

#### CAILEAN GORACH RAIDING.

After the entry of 1591, we find nothing more in the *Privy Council Register* about the process of the Countess of Errol. It is doubtful whether she ever got any satisfaction. It is quite certain the commission of fire and sword was never executed. But in the years 1589 and 1590 Cailean Gorach was one of the most conspicuous actors in the feudal war between Lord Ogilvie of Airlie and the Earl of Argyle—Lord Ogilvie puts Colin and his brother Archibald and Donald M'Tarlich, from the Laird of Glenorchy's bounds, down among his chief foes in the war which, he says, wrecked his house. And here follows a special complaint, which proves that in feudal war, if not in forays, Colin could snap up cattle as well as the Glencoe and Clanranald men, who had swept the Glenlyon sheilings a few years earlier:—

"Holyrood House, Nov. 5, 1591.—Complaint by William M'Nicol in Little Fortour, as follows:—In the beginning of the late troubles between the Earl of Argyll and Lord Ogilvie, when the broken men of Argyll and other parts of the Hielands came down within Angus, the

complainer was spuilied of all his goods, including sheep, nolt, and horses, with the exception of 70 cows and oxen only, which he sent to Glenshie for safety. But Colin Campbell of Glenlyon, being advertised hereof, associated unto himself forty of the said broken men and sorners, and came to Glenshie, where he violently reft and away took the said 70 cows and oxen ; and although the complainer has often craved restitution, yet the said Colin not only avows the deed and refuses restitution, but schores (threatens) him with further injury and malice, where through he, being sometimes an honest householder and entertainer of a great household and family, is now brought to misery and poverty. The complainer appearing personally, Colin Campbell of Glenlyon, for failing to appear, was denounced rebel."

Colin's sister was the wife of that Gregor Macgregor, chief of his clan, who, in consequence of peremptory orders from the Regent and Council, was hunted down by the array of Athole and Breadalbane in 1570, and executed at Kenmore in presence of the Earl of Athole, Justice-General, and of the whole baronage of the district. Duncan Roy of Glenlyon and Colin, his son, were obliged to be present with the rest, and the Macgregor's heart-broken widow, in her pathetic song to her babe, thus spoke of father and brother :—

"'S truagh nach robh m'athair ann an galar  
Agus Cailean ann am plaigh."

She was unjust in her grief. Her father and her brother were true and kind friends to herself and her two boys, Alexander and John, after the storm. The boys were brought up wisely and well until Ewen, their clan tutor, took them away from Glenlyon, at their grandfather's death, and initiated them into the wild ways of their predecessors. The barbarous murder of John Drummond, one of his Glenartney foresters, in 1589—roused an unusual flame of vindictive animosity in the usually placid breast of King James, which made the second persecution of the clan Gregor hotter than the first one. But Cailean Gorach would not join in the hunting down, although the persecuted had, in an accidental fray, brought about, it was suspected, by the machinations of Glenorchy, killed three of his men. He befriended not only his sister's sons, the young chief Allastair and Ian Dubh his brother, but went out of his way, and used all sorts of pnccommon devices to protect the whole persecuted surname. Many of them lurked in the rocks and corries of his rugged hills, for the ursuers remembered the fate of the Abraich raiders, and disliked in-

vading the clever madman's lands, even under the royal commission. As it was "broken men" he had with him in the Glenshee affair, and as the lifting of Nicol's cattle was not a thing in Colin's own line, we may conclude that "broken" Macgregors had their fingers in that pie pretty deeply, and so repaid Colin's previous kindness to them. But his nephew and the Clan Gregor, as a whole, had nothing to do with the feudal war between Ogilvie and Argyle.

#### FIGHTING TO THE LAST.

Colin died at the end of 1596, or in the early part of 1597. We get our last glimpse of him in the following entry in the *Privy Council Register* :—

"Edinburgh, July 22, 1596.

Complaint by Sir Duncane Campbell of Glenurquhy, forester of the forest of Mayne Lorne (properly Mam-Lorne), as follows :—Coline Campbell of Glenlyoun, Donald M'Conachy Vic Coniland, Donald M'Instalker, John M'Veane, John M'Vean, his brother John M'Robert M'Kinly, — M'Robert Graseche, John M'Gillichrist Duncan Reoch, and Donald Reoch his son, yearly in the summer seasoun comis and repairs to the said forest, biggis sheillis within and aboute the same, and remains the maist parte of the summer seasoun at the said forest, schuiting and slaying in grite nowmer the deir and wylde beastis within the same forest, and will not be stayed thairfra in tyme coming, unless commission be given to the said complener to destroy, dimoleis and cast down the saidis scheillis.—Sir Duncane appearing by Mr. John Archibald, his procurator, and Coline Campbell appearing by his son, the Lords grant commission to the complainer to the effect foresaid, because the said Coline, by his procurator, could show no cause in the contrary, and none of the other defenders had appeared to make any defence in the matter."

#### RUAIG GHALLU (PAGE 36.)

The Caithness name for this fight between the Campbells and the Sinclairs is "The battle of Altnamarlach," of which a Caithness correspondent gave the subjoined account in the *Northern Chronicle* of July 1st, 1885.—

The following does not pretend to be an exact historical account of the last of Scottish battles, fought for private ends and personal purposes, but is merely a reproduction of the legendary information

concerning that event which still lingers in Caithness. It might be interesting if any one acquainted with Breadalbane traditions could supply some account of the combat, as common in that district in the present day, or even "within the memory of man." By such means light might be thrown on some particulars now obscure, and a stepping-stone made for more extended investigation.

Campbell of Glenorchy and Sinclair of Keiss were rivals for the title of Earl of Caithness, and for the then extensive estates which went therewith. As Keiss continued resolutely to oppose Campbell's pretensions, the latter invaded Caithness with a force said to have consisted of five hundred Campbells and Macintyres, and sixty regular troops. The scabbard of a sabre—not of a claymore—was, some years ago, dug up on the site of the engagement, the form of which would seem to point to the presence of the regular military. This sheath, which was made of steel, had evidently been used to ward off the sweep of a broadsword, and had been deeply cut into. The blade which it had enclosed must have been of extraordinary breadth, with a very decided curve—not at all such a weapon as we are in the habit of associating with the Highlander of the period.

This expedition of five hundred and sixty men was commanded by Robert Campbell of Glenlyon. Some accounts say that the invading force took shipping, and made the journey to Caithness by sea, and that not without danger of shipwreck in the Pentland Firth. Others maintain that the Campbells employed but one vessel, for the transport—not of men, but of whisky. This ship was judiciously wrecked near Wick, where Keiss had drawn together some Sinclairs, Gunns, and others, into whose hands the spirits fell, with results which did not tend to their advantage in the day of battle. If the first account be correct, the place where the expedition landed must have been Berriedale or its vicinity, for it seems to be very generally admitted that the Campbells encamped, during their first night in Caithness, at Braemore, where the Gunns supplied them with fodder for their horses. This hospitality was ill requited, for, so runs a tradition common in Strathmore, the invaders, on resuming their march, drove off numerous cattle belonging to their entertainers. Gunn of Braemore was at the time confined to his bed, suffering from fever, but when he heard of the treatment his people had received, he took horse, and, with as many men as he could gather on the spur of the moment, made a rapid march after the Campbells, and managed to cut off and secure the captured cattle, without sustaining any very severe loss. The



night during which the strangers encamped at Braemore (11th August, 1680) was ushered in by a hard and unseasonable frost, which is still spoken of by old people as the natural accompaniment of the Campbells, whose chieftain is from that circumstance sometimes referred to as "grey frosty John."

Next evening saw the invaders encamped near the Hill of Tannoch, near Wick, to reach which they must have undertaken a long and weary march, through bogs and mires, bad enough at the present day, but which must have been infinitely softer and more watery in the seventeenth century, when road making and draining were unknown sciences.

Early next morning, the Campbells moved on the burn of Altnamarlach, posting a number of men on the high ground towards Wick, as if they were the whole force, while the main body remained hid in a neighbouring hollow, ready to start up and take the Sinclairs in flank at any moment when such might appear necessary.

Keiss had but 400 men under his banner, few of whom were very fit for the impending shock, as their brains were not yet clear from the effects of their late debauch. Drawing up in some sort of order, a stiff dram was served out to the clansmen, who then advanced, hearing that the Campbells were in motion as if intending to march on the hamlet of Keiss. This movement, however, was but a feint, taken part in by but a few, its real purpose being but to draw the Sinclairs into the ambush near the burn. This manœuvre had the desired effect, for Keiss immediately ordered an attack. The Caithness men found no difficulty in sweeping before them that part of the enemy's forces which stood in the way and was visible. Having no knowledge of the reinforcements in their immediate neighbourhood, Sinclair's men pursued the flying Campbells into the hollow, where the reserves, leaping upon the pursuers, turned victory into panic-stricken rout. Bullet, broadsword, and arrow followed the unfortunate adherents of Keiss down the glen, and over the sluggish stream of Wick, the channel of which was so choked by the slain and wounded, that the victors passed dry-shod over the river, and continued to cut down the flying Caithness men for some distance on the other side of the water. Sinclair of Keiss, seeing that all was lost, rode off the ground, attended by a few gentlemen who remained faithful to him. Thus ended the Culloden of Caithness.











